

Selected Philosophical Poems of Tommaso Campanella



Selected Philosophical Poems of
Tommaso Campanella
A Bilingual Edition

EDITED, TRANSLATED,
AND ANNOTATED
BY SHERRY ROUSH

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Sherry Roush

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On the Notational System of This Volume

As explained in the introduction (especially on pages 12–13 and 26), Campanella wrote marginal prose glosses to accompany most of his poems, and this format is maintained in the footnotes of this edition of poems. On a page containing more than one poem, a footnote number may repeat on the same page. Where this occurs, the second instance of the number is set in boldface (both the note reference in the poem and the note number itself in the self-commentary). The editor's comments and clarifications appear as annotations beginning on page 191.

Introduction

Over the course of Tommaso Campanella's seventy years (b. 1568, Stilo, Calabria; d. 1639, Paris), he wrote more than one hundred books, amounting to more than thirty thousand densely written pages, some of which he had to rewrite from memory more than once because they were lost, stolen, or destroyed.¹ Considered one of the last truly encyclopedic Renaissance thinkers, Campanella wrote works that span the subjects of metaphysics and philosophy, natural science, theology, grammar and rhetoric, medicine, astrology and the occult, historiography, political science, mythology, autobiography, apology, and utopian studies, in addition to poetics and poetry. Only two of Campanella's works, however, have received much attention among an English-language readership: his utopistic dialogue *The City of the Sun*, inspired by Plato's *Republic* and Sir Thomas More's *Utopia*; and his courageous defense of Galileo Galilei to Inquisition authorities.²

These two works barely hint at the full range of the originality and lasting influence of Campanella's thought. In the field of philosophy alone, Campanella "preceded Francis Bacon in the *experimental method*; Descartes in the *theory of the perception of the sense*; Locke in the *philosophy of religion*; Leibnitz in the *theodicy*; Vico in the *philosophy of history*; Kant in the *categorical imperative*; Lavater in the *physiognomic*; Froebel in the

I draw some of the material for this introduction from two of my earlier studies on Campanella: the sixth chapter of *Hermes' Lyre: Italian Poetic Self-Commentary from Dante to Tommaso Campanella*; and the 2008 article "Prometheus, Jonah, Christ: Tommaso Campanella's Self-Representational Models in His Philosophical Poetry," published in *Italian Culture*.

1. According to Eugenio Canone in the "Premessa" to Firpo and Canone, *I processi*, vii.

2. Despite their mutual respect and sustained correspondence, Galileo prudently rebuffed Campanella's *Apologia*, and the two thinkers maintained certain intellectual and ideological differences. John M. Headley elaborates on some of these in *Tommaso Campanella and the Transformation of the World*, 166–79.

pedagogy; [and] Schuppe in the *theory of the immanence*.”³ Visual artists, including Andrea Sacchi and Nicola Poussin, have interpreted Campanella’s fanciful, allegorical, and theoretical visions.⁴ Scholars have cited Campanella’s influence in religious and political realms, as well. For instance, Giorgio Spini has traced the promulgation of Campanella’s religious ideals, not only to France and Germany, but even to American colonies, particularly to the Labadists of Northern Maryland and to the Appalachian Shakers.⁵ Like the political thought of his fellow Italian Niccolò Machiavelli—whom Campanella bitterly denounced—Campanella’s work would come to be read and understood in ways that he could never have foreseen.⁶ Most notoriously, *Campanella’s writings purportedly inspired Vladimir Lenin’s “Plan of Monumental Propaganda”* (May 27, 1918).⁷ Given the provocative nature of some of Campanella’s articulated views—including extreme pietism and the sharing of all goods (including women) in common—it is not surprising that Campanella became a lightning rod for vehement and divisive ideological debates in his critical reception through the ages. In fact, few issues find much consensus among scholars of Campanella’s dense, difficult, and at times self-contradictory writings.

Campanella’s Poetry in the Context of His Life

Campanella’s volume of philosophical poetry consists of eighty-nine poems, mostly sonnets and canzoni, accompanied by his own prose self-commentary. He wrote the work from Italian prisons, where he spent nearly half of his long life on charges including heresy and sedition. But the work embodies a unique spirit of self-determination and intellectual curiosity in an individual born utterly destitute, and the irrepressible survival instinct of a visionary leader rendered and tortured by the political authorities of his day.

Campanella was born Giovan Domenico on September 5, 1568, to Geronimo, an illiterate slippermaker, and Catarinella Martello, who died

3. Grillo, *Tommaso Campanella in America*, 47, emphasis in the original.

4. See Grillo, *Tommaso Campanella nell’arte*.

5. Spini, “Le colonie collettiviste,” 201–5.

6. William Prynne’s characterization of Campanella as a “Second Machiavel” would certainly have incited the author of *L’Ateismo trionfato, ovvero riconoscimento filosofico della religione universale contra l’anticristianesimo machiavellesco* (Atheism conquered, or the philosophical understanding of the universal religion against Machiavellian anti-Christianity).

7. See Corbesero, “The Anniversaries,” 23–24, and Stites, *Revolutionary Dreams*, 88–90.

prematurely when Campanella was very young.⁸ Campanella lived with his parents and siblings in a humble shack outside the walls of Stilo, a town in Calabria, one of the poorest regions of southern Italy, which suffered the oppressive forces of foreign dominations, feudalism, piracy, brigandage, famine, and disease.⁹ Although his family was too poor to afford lessons from the rural schoolmaster, Campanella, probably no more than five or six years old, began to eavesdrop lessons from outside open classroom windows. His ability to remember readings, even those directed at children much older than he was, soon drew the attention of priests and teachers who marveled at his knowledge. Inspired by the rhetorical abilities of some charismatic Dominican preachers, he made his first commitment to the Dominican order at the age of nine. After emerging from six months in a sickbed with quartan fever, he pronounced his official vows at the age of fourteen, taking the name of Tommaso at his ordination.

Campanella embarked on a regular course of study at various Calabrian convents and schools (Placanica, San Giorgio Morgeto, and Nicastro). His teachers characterized him as sharp and diligent in his studies, but also fiery, righteous, and stubborn. One famously predicted, “Campanella, Campanella, you will not come to a good end!”¹⁰ Campanella read voraciously:

I devour
so much that all the books that the world contains
could not satiate my profound appetite.
I have eaten so much! and still I starve to death!

(“Immortal Soul,” lines 1–4)

He noted in his *De libris propriis* that he particularly enjoyed all of the books of Plato, Pliny, Galen, the Stoics, and the followers of Democritus, but above all, the books of Bernardino Telesio. In fact, within a few short weeks of his arrival in Cosenza during summer 1588, he began reading Telesio’s *De rerum natura* (On the nature of things). He resolved to meet the natural scientist who had become his inspiration, but Telesio died before Campanella had even finished reading his book. Likely in an effort to

8. This biographical sketch translates information provided by Luigi Firpo, Germana Ernst and Nicola Badaloni, Romano Amerio, Angelamaria Isoldi Jacobelli, and Francesco Giancotti, and—when it appears reliable—Campanella’s own autobiographical references in his *De libris propriis*.

9. Vincenzo Paladino emphasizes the sociological and political situation of Campanella’s Calabria in *L’opera poetica di Tommaso Campanella*.

10. Firpo and Canone, *I processi*, 4, my translation.

quell Campanella's new intellectual enthusiasms, his superiors decided to move him to the small, isolated convent of Altomonte. But Campanella began to spread the word there about Telesio's anti-Aristotelianism, and he composed in six months an eight-book defense of Telesio, titled *Philosophia sensibus demonstrata* (Philosophy demonstrated by the senses). The work attempted to reconcile certain aspects of Christianity with Telesio's scientific naturalism, without disguising Campanella's disdain for Aristotle, whom he called "impius et ignorantissimus" (impious and most ignorant).

Campanella left Calabria for Naples and stayed for most of the time there in the palace of the Marquis Mario del Tufo. He wrote the work *De sensitiva rerum facultate* (On the faculty of sensation in things), which was lost and eventually rewritten in Italian in 1604 as *Del senso delle cose e della magia* (On the sense of things and magic), indebted to his conversations in Naples with noted magician and scholar Giambattista della Porta. The publication in Naples in 1591 of his *Philosophia sensibus demonstrata*, dedicated to del Tufo, created a scandal, particularly when word of it reached his former convents in Calabria. Some of Campanella's confrères viewed him as insolent, ignorant, or even verging on crazy, and one envious brother countered the question "how can Campanella know so much if he has not studied [theology] yet?" with the accusation that Campanella was harboring in his pinky fingernail a little demon that gave him the answers to his questions. Sufficiently intrigued, Church officials arrested Campanella and brought him to trial in Naples on charges concerning communication with demons and profaning Holy Communion, but it was his support of Telesian doctrines that garnered from them the most attention. When asked to explain the fount of his knowledge, Campanella boldly proclaimed, echoing the words of St. Girolamo, "I have consumed more oil [burning it for late-night study] than you have wine."¹¹ In August 1592, the tribunal released Campanella, recognizing the accusations as false, but ordered him to abandon his Telesian enthusiasms and to return to Calabria within one week.

Campanella took a road leading in the opposite direction instead, departing for Rome, then Florence, with the hope of receiving a lectureship from the Grand Duke of Florence at the university of Siena or Pisa. The Grand Duke, to whom Campanella had dedicated the *De sensitiva rerum facultate*, received him warmly but refused him the teaching posi-

11. Canone, "Premessa" to Firpo and Canone, *I processi*, 5: "Io ho consumato più d'olio che voi di vino."

tion he sought. Campanella proceeded toward Venice, where he hoped to find a publisher for all of his writings, which he carried with him. On the way, however, in Bologna, agents of the Inquisition stole those manuscripts from him. Undaunted, Campanella vowed to rewrite them all in greater detail and in a more lucid and systematic manner. He moved next to Padua and enrolled at the university there as a Spaniard studying medicine. He worked as a private tutor, while his studies focused on human anatomical dissections, and his writing included a first version of the *Fisiologia* (Physiology), the *Retorica* (Rhetoric), and *Del governo ecclesiastico* (On ecclesiastical government). Campanella met the Venetian historian and political scientist Paolo Sarpi and the astronomer Galileo during this period in Padua. He also saw again there della Porta, whom he had met during his period in Naples. In fact, Campanella had wide intellectual circles, and it was his discussions on matters of faith with a *giudaizzante* (a Jew, converted to Catholicism, who has returned to his Jewish faith) that earned his rearrest by the Holy Office in late 1593 or early 1594.¹² Campanella's trial quickly grew more complicated in light of his attempt to escape prison (on July 30, 1594) and subsequent accusations brought against him of divinatory practices, materialistic and atheistic beliefs, and irreverence. Campanella underwent a "mysterious clandestine extradition" to Rome.¹³ During this time in prison, Campanella wrote feverishly—documents in his own defense and books that included the *Compendium de rerum natura* (Compendium of the nature of things) and the *Epilogo magno* (The great epilogue). The Holy Office condemned Campanella for "very great suspicion of heresy" and forced him to abjure publicly on May 16, 1595, in the Church of Santa Maria sopra Minerva, then to take up house arrest in certain convents. He wrote the *Dialogo politico contro Luterani, Calvinisti e altri eretici* (Political dialogue against Lutherans, Calvinists, and other heretics) and the Italian *Poetica* (Poetics) during this period.

On March 5, 1597, a common prisoner in Naples saved himself from imminent death at the gallows by accusing Campanella of heresy. Scipione Prestinace da Stilo had probably never met Campanella, whose growing reputation for learning and rebelliousness was becoming a liability to his safety. The Inquisition again seized Campanella and imprisoned him in Rome. Church officials eventually found him innocent of the charges. At

12. Firpo suggests 1593 (*I processi*, 6); Ernst and Badaloni suggest 1594 (*Tommaso Campanella*, 2).

13. According to Firpo and Canone, *I processi*, 6.

his release, however, the court ordered Campanella to return to his native Calabria; this time the command left no room for individual interpretation. After delaying his departure as long as he could, Campanella left Naples in July 1598, arriving at Stilo on August 15 of the same year. He wrote theological tracts (now lost), a tragedy on Mary Stuart, and his *Monarchia di Spagna* (*Thomas Campanella an Italian friar and second Machiavel: His advice to the King of Spain for attaining the universal monarchy of the world . . .*).

During this period in Calabria, Campanella also became involved in action for social justice. By interpreting celestial signs, prophetic texts, and the rumblings of political unrest, Campanella became the leader of a wide conspiracy involving nobles, plebes, ecclesiastics, exiles, and even a Turkish flotilla, to establish a Calabrian republic, free of Spanish and feudal oppression, based on communistic and theocratic ideals. Spanish forces quashed the so-called Calabrian Revolt of 1599 when two conspirators betrayed Campanella to authorities. Spanish authorities arrested Campanella and extradited him to Naples, along with four galleys of his accused conspirators.

At the initial interrogation for his ecclesiastical trial on the charge of heresy, which began on January 18, 1600, Campanella denied every involvement in the revolt. Magistrates authorized the use of torture to extract the truth from their prisoner. Beginning January 31, Campanella endured one week in solitary confinement in an underground dungeon, known as the *cocodrillo*, or “crocodile.” He emerged “ill and exhausted” on February 7,¹⁴ only to be subjected the following day to the so-called *polledro* torture, probably a form of the rack, a device to which prisoners were tied and progressively stretched while interrogated, and which caused various degrees of trauma to muscles, ligatures, and joints.¹⁵ Because he admitted under torture to some of the crimes attributed to him, it is clear that Campanella knew that the wheels of earthly justice were turning relentlessly toward only one outcome: execution, probably by burning at the stake. So, on Easter morning 1600, Campanella set fire to the straw mattress in his prison cell and pursued a plan to simulate a raving delirium. He knew that proof of insanity might be his only possible defense as a *relapsus*, or recusant—a person who, though warned against his grave actions or habit of thought, and then forgiven, subsequently per-

14. Firpo, *Tutte le opere*, lxxiv.

15. While critics acknowledge the cruel and wrenching nature of the *polledro*, its precise nature seems to have eluded description. The spelling may be a variant of *puledro* (colt), which may be another term for the well-known *cavalletto* (little horse) torture, that is, the rack.

sisted in an error considered sufficiently dangerous to himself or to others to warrant the death penalty. Catholic authorities had to prove that the accused knew and understood the evil, but elected nonetheless to commit it. Signed confession as a consequence of torture was a primary mode for the Church to demonstrate that knowledge and understanding.

Campanella spent one month raving, muttering, and otherwise outwardly demonstrating an utter loss of reason to any official who saw him. Meanwhile, he conversed rationally with a prisoner friend and completed a lucid, two-part written defense of his actions. His trial resumed on May 10, 1600, and for the next ten days Campanella underwent harrowing tortures in order to determine the legitimacy of his insanity. One of these was the *corda*, a torture that involved being suspended from a rope that bound one's arms behind the back. Regulation endurance for this torture was thirty minutes, though Campanella endured it for twice as long on July 18, 1600.

For months Campanella somehow maintained his posture of simulated madness though tortures, surprise visits, and surreptitious observations. Between November 6 and November 15, ten people testified that Campanella had to be certifiably insane; no rational man would be able to endure what he had endured. Even the most diffident judges began to wonder if Campanella might just be mad. Campanella continued to languish, outwardly raving, in prison.

On May 31, 1601, Roman authorities demanded definitive proof of Campanella's state of mind. On June 4 and 5, Campanella underwent the *veglia* (wake). **By Campanella's time, the wake was a relatively rare form of torture, deemed sufficiently cruel that it was universally recognized as intolerable enough to provoke confession even from the most recalcitrant of subjects.**

The victim was kept awake by a rota of guards, and was shaken or pricked at intervals, or made to walk up and down, for the length of two days and nights . . . Combined with a starvation diet, or even complete deprivation of food and water, and the dismal conditions of the prison cell, this soon produced a state of disorientation, in which the victim could be persuaded to say whatever was required. . . . **An Italian lawyer described it as the most effective of all tortures: "out of 100 martyrs exposed to it, not two could endure it without becoming confessors."**¹⁶

16. Innes, *The History of Torture*, 44. According to Michael Kerrigan there was also a special rack known as the *veglia*: "In an Italian variation, a sharp spike was set right beneath the

Luigi Firpo provided a detailed transcript of Campanella's torture and interrogation. Sometimes Campanella screamed disjunctive biblical allusions, such as "Ten white horses!" Other times he railed, "Kiss me; I'm a saint!" or lamented his pain, referred to his bodily needs, or tried to solicit pity from his torturers: "My brothers . . . I have done you no harm . . . have pity." For other periods, Campanella maintained a resolute silence. After thirty-six continuous hours of torture without sleep, the exactors of punishment cut loose his ropes and declared him insane.

As soon as Campanella heard these words, he was said to have turned to one of his torturers, Giacomo Ferraro, and hissed in his ear: "Che si pensavano che io era coglione, che voleva parlare?" (What did you think, that I was a dumbass, that I wanted to talk?).¹⁷ Despite Campanella's imprudent but perhaps not entirely uncharacteristic remark, Church authorities certified his insanity and commuted his death sentence to indefinite imprisonment. The injuries resulting from the various tortures somehow did not prevent Campanella from continuing to write. In fact, at this point he was more convinced than ever that God had spared him for some great purpose, which he believed was to serve as God's prophet, the proof of which he found in countless signs, from the celestial indications of his horoscope to the seven bumps on his head. The pseudonym Campanella chose for his *Scelta di poesie filosofiche* (Selection of philosophical poems), Settimontano Squilla, alludes to this latter sign.¹⁸ Campanella stated, referring to himself in the third person, "He says that God, having given him so many favors, granting him the new sciences, seven prodigious bumps on his head, the will to make the school of the Prime Intellect by divine instinct, the white horse, which is the priestly Dominican order, and triumph over so many torments and tormentors, will free him for some great thing" (75n8).

The official sentence for the charge of heresy, life imprisonment without the possibility of release, came from the Holy Office on November 13, 1602. But Campanella had yet to endure his secular trial on other charges related to the revolt, including conspiracy and sedition. This

victim's back, thereby adding to his many agonies the urgent necessity of keeping his back tensed and well clear. The spike was mockingly known as *la veglia*, or 'vigilance'" (*The Instruments of Torture*, 37–38).

17. Firpo, *I processi*, 266–67.

18. "Settimontano" is derived from "sette monti"—the seven "mountains" or protrusions on his head. Seven is a particularly significant number in his numerology, as he confirms in his *Profezia di Cristo* (Prophecy of Christ), where he explains at length how in the number seven is hidden true wisdom.

trial underwent various protracted procedural delays. In the meantime, Campanella continued to write, entrusting his *Monarchia di Spagna* and *Epilogo magno* to a German intellectual named Christoph Pflug who passed through the prison of Castel Nuovo, where Campanella was confined. Campanella tried unsuccessfully to escape that prison, earning himself even worse treatment—in July 1604, authorities transferred him to the notorious dungeon of Castel Sant’Elmo. There he endured the next four years of imprisonment in relative isolation and deprivation in the most atrocious conditions. Shackles attached his hands and feet to the damp walls of his cell. This experience was the nadir of Campanella’s psychological and spiritual suffering. During this period of loneliness and disillusionment, however, a pious confessor, Don Basilio Berillari, began to guide what Campanella himself called his profound spiritual conversion (the central focus of poem 80 in particular).¹⁹

In March 1605, officials released the other ecclesiastics who had been arrested with Campanella for their involvement in the Calabrian revolt. Although still imprisoned, Campanella’s conditions were such that he was able to write again, producing the *Monarchia dei Cristiani* (Monarchy of Christians, now lost), the *Monarchia del Messia* (Monarchy of the Messiah), the *Discorso delle ragioni che ha il Re Cattolico sopra il Mondo Nuovo e altri regni d’infedeli* (Discourse on the rights that the Catholic king has over the New World and the other regions of the infidels), part of the *Articuli prophetales* (Prophetic articles), some poetry, and a re-elaboration of the *Epilogo magno*, among other works. Meanwhile he sought a transfer to Rome. Instead he was conducted to another prison in Naples, the Castel dell’Uovo, where conditions at least were better.

Along with various other works, Campanella rewrote a third time from memory his Latin *Metaphysica* (Metaphysics) in thirteen books. In 1613, on the way back from their trip to the Holy Land, Tobia Adami and Rudolph von Büнау visited Campanella in prison. Campanella gave Adami many of his works to publish abroad, including his *Scelta di poesie filosofiche* with his self-commentary. The following year a Dominican named Angelo Romano di Palermo denounced Campanella for writing

19. Whereas some scholars (such as Joan Kelly-Gadol and Nicola Badaloni) regard Campanella’s change of heart with cool skepticism, suggesting political expediency, it does not seem implausible to me that an authentic faith journey could be a very winding road. In other words, no matter what Campanella may have felt about his conversion at a later point in life, these feelings do not necessarily mean that he did not view that conversion as quite sincere at the time.

books and distributing them to heretics of various nationalities. Later that year, the Spanish viceroy transferred Campanella back to Castel Sant'Elmo. Despite orders from the Holy Office not to permit Campanella the means to write, he undertook the *Quod remiscetur* (a work in praise of Catholic ecumenism for a return to God) and the *Apologia pro Galileo* (*Defense of Galileo*) in 1615 and 1616.

Campanella served his time between 1616 and 1626 in various prisons, continuing to write, requesting permissions to publish his works (invariably denied), and smuggling those works through foreign friends for publication abroad. In June 1626, Campanella received a transfer to the Palace of the Inquisition in Rome, where he offered his astrological acumen to help cure the ailing pope, Urban VIII, according to doctrines Campanella expounded in *De fato siderali vitando* (On avoiding fate dictated by the stars). The pope recovered his health. For this service, the pope permitted Campanella to leave detention at the Palace of the Holy Office on July 27, 1628, and to reenter the convent of Santa Maria sopra Minerva under house arrest. Later that summer, Campanella received many of his writings back, so that he could emend them. Among his other writings during this period were his commentaries on the Latin poems written by the pope and writings that showed his growing support for French political aspirations. Over his lifetime, Campanella's secular political sympathies shifted from trying to court favor from the Spanish king (indicated by his dedication of the work *Monarchia di Spagna*, for instance) to hoping for protection and support from the French king (Louis XIII).

The year 1629 marked not only the Holy Office's definitive acquittal of Campanella but also the conferring of Campanella's title of *magister theologiae* by the head of the Dominican Order. During the next three to four years, Campanella resided with the Scolopi fathers in Frascati, giving lessons and writing a commentary on the eleventh chapter of the Epistle to the Romans, an *Apologia pro scholis piis* (Defense of the pious schools), an account of an eruption of Vesuvius titled *De conflagratione Vesuvii*, his autobiography (now lost), *De libris propriis et recta ratione studendi syntagma* (A synthesis of his books and the correct order of studies), and a political dialogue, among other works.

Even well into his sixties, however, Campanella did not find peace. In August 1633, a young Calabrian Dominican, Fra Tommaso Pignatelli, who had been a student of Campanella's, was arrested in Naples in con-

nection with plotting to poison the Spanish viceroy and other Spanish officials and planning to lead an uprising to establish a popular government. Spanish authorities suspected that Campanella directed Piagnatelli's plan. Fearing rearrest in connection with this investigation of an anti-Spanish uprising, Campanella disguised himself as a minor friar and fled Rome for France on the night of October 21, 1634.

Scholar Nicolas Claude Fabri de Peiresc hosted Campanella in Aix en Provence, and Pierre Gassendi was among the other intellectuals who met or traveled with Campanella on his way to Paris. On December 1, 1634, Campanella found a place in a convent of reformed Dominicans on Rue St. Honoré. Cardinal Armand Jean du Plessis Richelieu, who was at the time the chief minister of France, and King Louis XIII himself received Campanella in February 1635 with unusual signs of honor—embracing him, complimenting him warmly, and assuring him a pension. The king later approved many of his writings, including the *Metaphysica*, and promoted a definitive publication of Campanella's collected works, toward which Campanella applied himself enthusiastically in his final years but did not complete. Campanella also served as a political advisor for Richelieu on Italian affairs during the Thirty Years' War.

Campanella's reception by French philosophers was somewhat more reserved. Marin Mersenne remarked that Campanella had a good memory and fertile fantasy, but that he could not teach one anything about science.²⁰ When Mersenne told René Descartes that Campanella, though a frail, old friar, would be willing to travel to Holland to meet him, Descartes countered that he knew enough about Campanella not to want to know any more.²¹

On the same day that Campanella celebrated his seventieth birthday, all of France celebrated the birth of a long-desired heir to the throne: the future King Louis XIV. Campanella composed his last poem, a Latin eclogue not included in the *Scelta*, reaffirming his youthful optimism of a universal renewal, harmony among people, and an era of peace, along with a horoscope for the future Sun King. Campanella died on May 21, 1639. His remains were scattered during the French Revolution, when the Church of Saint-Honoré, his burial place, was destroyed.

20. Jacobelli, *Tomaso Campanella*, 54.

21. Isoldi Jacobelli, on page 54 of *Tomaso Campanella*, cites B. De Giovanni, *Lo spazio della vita fra Bruno e Campanella*, in "Il Centauro."

Campanella's Poetics and His Place in the Poetic Tradition

This collection of philosophical poetry represents the closest thing to a *canzoniere* that Campanella produced, but almost every aspect of his collection rejects any comparison to a Petrarchan or Bembian model.²² Although Campanella wrote verses in praise of an earthly woman, he did not include these in his *Scelta*. Instead, his love object here is pointedly *Sophia*/Wisdom (*philo-sophia*). Whereas Petrarch modulated in verse his soul's suffering for Laura and for spiritual harmony, Campanella sought an understanding of Divine Being and how creaturely beings share in Its existence. Campanella's poetic voice does not seem to order and govern the *canzoniere*, as much as it puts on display the relativity of even the poet's perspective.²³

In the *Scelta di alcune poesie filosofiche di Settimontano Squilla cavate da' suoi libri detti "La Cantica" con l'esposizione* (A selection of some philosophical poems by Settimontano Squilla taken from his books called "The Canticle" with his self-commentary), "The Canticle" may suggest a much stronger biblical association than the inspiration of most poetic models available to him.²⁴ The motivation for accompanying his poetry with a

22. In addition to differences in the love object, form, and other aspects of the traditional *canzoniere*, which I subsequently address, Campanella's vocabulary radically departs from the overwhelming conformity of the Petrarchan or Bembian vocabulary. In the *Scelta*, there are no occurrences, for instance, of the commonplaces "l'aura" (breeze), "lauro" (laurel), "fronde" (boughs), "arboscelli" (small trees), "augelli" (birds), "mattutina" (morning), "sospiri" (sighs), "soave" (delicate), "alberghi" (dwells/dwelling place), "chiome" (tresses), and so on.

23. In fact, Campanella refuses to see any created entity as all good or all bad. Government can be mostly good (as Venice is hailed in poem 38 and Genoa in 39, both excluded from this selection), but Campanella more frequently denounces poor government, repression, and tyranny (in poems 13, 15, 16, 17, among others). Even the people, the oppressed populace with whom Campanella sympathizes and occasionally idealizes, are not all good; their apathy and cowardice receive not a few harsh rebukes from the poet (most notably in poem 33). Numerologically, when compared with Petrarch's ordered 365-plus-one poems in the *De rerum vulgarium fragmenta*, there is also no particular significance to Campanella's eighty-six poems, plus the three poems in Latin meter in an appendix, nor is there any clear sense of development in the ordering of Campanella's verses.

24. It is unclear just how many poems composed the larger corpus of the *Cantica*'s seven books, now lost. We have only some scattered examples of these excluded poems, though most scholars agree that Campanella's best poems appear in the *Scelta*. Firpo indicates seventy-five poems excluded from the *Scelta* in *Tutte le opere*, and Ernst provides five more in "Cinque sonetti." Of these eighty poems a few stand out, including a strident sonnet to Torquato Tasso (encouraging him to take Dante and Petrarch as models for ardor and inspiration, since his poems are well written, but lack the heart that the others' poems have), a moving sonnet on Francesco Pucci's execution by the Holy Office in 1597 in Campo di Fiori, Rome, a lyrical sonnet of gratitude for a Signora Olimpia, and a love sonnet to a Suor Dianora.

prose self-commentary may also have its inspiration in the Bible, since works resembling the Bible, with its heavy apparatus of commentary, tended to command greater respect for their presumed authority. In fact, Campanella's *Scelta* joins an esteemed tradition of Italian poetic self-commentaries, including Dante Alighieri's *Vita Nuova* and *Convivio*, Giovanni Boccaccio's *Teseida delle nozze d'Emilia*, and Lorenzo de' Medici's *Commento alli miei sonnetti*.²⁵ Poetic self-commentaries may baffle readers who are unaccustomed to them, because, unlike standard commentaries written by other scholars, self-commentaries sometimes willfully refuse to explicate the poetry's language or concepts (for example, 21n: "This sonnet is clear; it deserves attention and observance, recognition and imitation"; or the proclamation in Latin on poem 59 [not included in this volume]: "May the one who reads, understand"). While they may sometimes mimic commentators, self-commentators do not necessarily embrace the pedagogical intent of those scholars who aid the reader by simplifying poetry in prose or by providing appropriate references to veiled allusions, for instance. It is thus not surprising that Campanella's self-glosses do not necessarily seek to define his poetic sense absolutely; they do not impose an authoritative reading, nor do they present rigorously factual information (related to biography, sources, chronology, and so on). Rather, his self-commentary adds another poetic dimension (though it is not expressed in verse) to the text that requires the reader's active interpretation.

Campanella chose to publish his collection of philosophical poetry under a pseudonym, *Settimontano Squilla*. Critics have long struggled to explain his motivation for doing so. Some scholars, such as Rodolfo de Mattei, point to Campanella's necessary prudence as a political prisoner in choosing a pen name, presumably in order to circumvent further punishment.²⁶ This pseudonym, however, metonymically suggests Campanella's real name (*Campanella* means "little bell," and *squilla* means "peals" or "rings shrilly"). Moreover, in his self-glosses Campanella repeatedly states that the poems were written by the same author as the *Metaphysics*,

25. This is not to say that Campanella has the same intent as Dante, Boccaccio, Lorenzo de' Medici, or any other of the many Italian medieval and Renaissance poetic self-commentators. Each self-commentator, in fact, presents different reasons for adopting multiple authorial voices (in poetry and in allusive and elusive self-commentative prose) in their works as an expressive form that insists on its open-endedness, akin to a voice in a dialogue. See Roush, *Hermes' Lyre*, 11.

26. See De Mattei, *Studi Campanelliani*, 94.

Political Aphorisms, *On the Sense of Things and Magic*, and *The City of the Sun*, all works signed by Campanella without a pseudonym.²⁷ Campanella evidently did not seriously intend to conceal his identity. In another study, I hypothesized that Campanella's own explanations of his pseudonym and considerations of his prophetic mission suggest that he may have wanted to cast his poetic voice in the role of the seventh apocalyptic angel.²⁸

Moreover, Campanella's lyric style does not fit well into the rubrics of other more temporally proximate poetic vogues, such as mannerism. Campanella shares nothing of Giambattista Marino's poetics of *meraviglia*, understood as the desire to provoke wonder in the reader by means of effusive metaphors or perspicacious details: in other words, by means of the artifice and artificiality of language. For Campanella, poetry should not be an object of purely aesthetic consideration, but rather a privileged means of communication, described as "magical," through which the reader has access to a deeper meaning of truth, God, nature, and the world.

Nineteenth-century Italian scholar Luigi Settembrini contrasted Campanella's poetry to that of Gabriello Chiabrera, asserting that Campanella's was "all bone and nerves" and "all thought and pain," just the opposite of Chiabrera's, which he labeled "all form."²⁹ He also likened Campanella's poetry somewhat controversially to that of Guido Guinizelli, Guido Cavalcanti, and Girolamo Benivieni, though in Campanella's verse, Settembrini stated, there remained "something uncouth, monkish, and Calabrian." While this last observation perhaps exposes Settembrini's personal biases more than it elucidates Campanella's poetic style, I find the comparison to Guinizelli, Cavalcanti, and Benivieni not without an intuitive poetic sensibility. These four poets do not share historical contexts, influences, favorite themes, or anything quite so simplistic. Nonetheless, Campanella echoes ever so distantly, but clearly, something in Guinizelli's almost organic rapport between the poet's mind, nature's stars and minerals, and the possibility of transcendence by a man estranged from his social world, who felt the threat and eventu-

27. Campanella chose a somewhat different pseudonym for his *Antiveneti*: Temisquilla Settimontano.

28. Specifically, Campanella wrote a continuation of Joachim of Flora's prophecies, which compared St. Francis of Assisi to the sixth angel of the Apocalypse. See Roush, *Hermes' Lyre*, 145–48.

29. Quoted from Ada Ruschioni, *Tommaso Campanella filosofo-poeta*, 208–9, my translation. For a treatment in English explaining how Campanella's poetics differed from received tradition, see also Dennis Costa's "Poetry and Gnosticism."

ally the actuality of exile. Cavalcanti's urgent existential wrestling with philosophy and poetry, and Benivieni's lyric tangling with religion and spiritualism also both find a place in Campanella's dense, raw verse that expresses an authentic correspondence between a poet's interiority—in all of its occasional messiness—and a nuanced, living language on the page. To these comparisons I add one more: Campanella's criticism of institutions of power and his calls for reform, which tend in tone toward the wildly enthusiastic but unrealistically idealistic, may remind readers of the poetry of the young Girolamo Savonarola as well.

Anna Cerbo has admirably traced the classical influences on Campanella's poetry and poetics. Other scholars, such as Stelio Cro, prefer not to focus on Campanella's classicism or his program of renewing or revolutionizing ancient models, but rather argue that Campanella breaks radically from precedent: "Campanella is the first Italian writer who is convinced that modern times are superior to ancient times, because modern science and history are superior to classical science and history."³⁰ Although Campanella did not model his poetry particularly closely on canonical precedents, the poet whom Campanella chose for praise above all others in his *Poetica* and imitation in his *Scelta* was Dante. In fact, Pasquale Tuscano has rightly called Campanella "the most attentive and impassioned reader of Dante in the Seicento."³¹ In the *Scelta*, Campanella experimented with Dante's metrical form of *terza rima* (3), peppered his lyrics with allusions to Dante (too numerous to mention, but many are signaled in the annotations), and shared Dante's enthusiasm for meta-physical neologisms (such as "s'illuia e incinge" in 5.14). The most significant consonance between Dante and Campanella, however, is their shared call for justice, especially justice in this world. In fact, Dante corresponds to Campanella's description of the cardinal defining characteristics of the true poet who presents edifying truths for ethical motives in a beautiful, memorable way. "The true poet," Campanella summarized in the tenth chapter of his *Poetics*, "is the one who teaches and says very great and prophetic things for the good of the readers." Moreover:

Poetry [is] the flower of all the sciences. But pretty words alone are not enough to entice [readers], as I will show, so **Dante is our poet**, having more than any other these conditions, and **Petrarch**, because he speaks of love chastely, love being necessary to all adolescents in their first years;

30. Cro, "Tommaso Campanella and the Poetry of the Baroque," 93.

31. Tuscano, *Poetica e poesia*, 8, my translation.

but he is wiser in his *Triumphs* and in his “Song to Italy,” which teach us to understand how our country has fallen into ruin, **though the concepts are Dante’s.**³²

These aspects help to inform Campanella’s indispensably important concept of his **“architectonic” basis for poetry.** In the fourth chapter of his vernacular edition of the *Poetics*, Campanella considers the duty of the poet and concludes that the true poet does not follow Aristotle’s exhortations to invent fables, but instead creates a poetic work with ethical ends. The poet, according to Campanella, need not invent pre-texts for poetry.³³ For Campanella, life itself is fantastic, and poetry must express it.

Nonetheless, a profoundly important point of reference for the poet is the mythological Titan Prometheus (poem 1). **Because Prometheus stole fire from the gods to give to mankind, Prometheus’s god, Zeus, punished him by chaining him to a rock in the Caucasus mountains, where birds of prey devoured his liver, which regenerated each night only to be eaten again.** Campanella’s vision for mankind, his overarching desire to better the state of man (71.1–2, for instance), demands in his estimation that he **go to extraordinary measures, using his courage, daring originality, and creativity to enlighten his peers.** Campanella believed that his actions on behalf of his fellow man, in particular his leadership of the 1599 Calabrian uprising, were his gifts of fire. For his actions, he saw his own imprisonment (both physical and psycho-spiritual) as his Caucasus (poem 71 he titles “Sonetto nel Caucaso,” for instance).

Campanella’s poetics and thought, even when sketched so briefly as they are in the preceding pages, leave one to wonder how Campanella’s poetry might compare to English poetry of the time, and particularly to that of the English metaphysical poets. While fascinating studies have profitably compared works by Campanella available in English translation to works in the English literary tradition (such as Campanella’s *City of the Sun* to Sir Thomas More’s *Utopia*), or poetry translated into English by other contemporary Italians to their English counterparts (such as comparisons between the poetry of Giordano Bruno and that of Sir Philip Sydney), comparative study of Campanella’s poetry and the En-

32. I translate from Campanella’s Italian version of the *Poetica* available in Firpo, *Tutte le opere*, 338.

33. Firpo, *Tutte le opere*, 321–22. See also Campanella’s self-commentary on poem 2, “A’ poeti,” in which Campanella criticizes those poets who falsify history in the name of poetic inventiveness.

glish canon remains a vast field yet to be explored. While direct influence is unlikely, Campanella's lyrics share something of the English wit that emerges from a discordia concors of new scientific language employed in the definition of God. Campanella deploys many of the favorite English conceits with their abstract or cosmological referents (book, mind, sun, and so on). The conceit of the sun is Campanella's most complex because it contains so many different allusions and associations. The image of the sun bookends the volume, appearing in references to the Prometheus myth in poem 1, as well as in 89, "To the Sun." In other poems, the sun evokes Telesian heat themes, and serves as a reference point for astrological predictions or as a Neoplatonic visible sign of God.³⁴

In terms of other conceits, nature is for Campanella the other "book of God," as he states in 6.1–2: "The world is the book in which the eternal Intellect / wrote His concepts." He expands on the relationship between God, nature, and art in 23n3: "God, the Prime Intellect, made all the beings, modeling them on His ideas. Nature, which is divine art inserted into things, is the daughter of Intellect; and so Nature made natural things, modeling them after His ideas. Our art, which is extrinsic nature, makes artificial things, modeling them on the ideas expressed by nature, her mother, taught by Intellect, our art's grandfather."

The lines may remind readers of Campanella's younger English contemporary George Herbert, who, looking on nature in the poem "Jordan (I)," opines, "Must all be vail'd, while he that reades, divines, / Catching the sense at two removes?"³⁵ John Donne composed "The Flea," and Andrew Marvell "The Mower to the Glo-Worms" with tones and amorous intentions quite different from Campanella's,³⁶ but Campanella's imagery of fleas and tapeworms in poem 4 shares an attention to the minute creatures of this world as a measure for understanding the macrocosm of God's creation. Moreover, Campanella contributed to the early elaboration of what would come to be the literary conceit of the "world as stage," squarely between William Shakespeare and Pedro Calderón de la Barca in its European representation: "In the theater of the world, souls, / masked by bodies and by their passions, / and set in nature—divine art— / prepare a spectacle for the Supreme Consistory" (14.1–4).

34. The sun is also, of course, the ensign of the Solarians in Campanella's utopistic republic. For more associations, see the seventh chapter of Pasquale Tuscano's *Del parlare onesto*.

35. *The Metaphysical Poets*, introduced and edited by Helen Gardner, 125.

36. Gardner includes these poems in *The Metaphysical Poets* on pages 57 and 255 respectively.

The Influences of Religion, Philosophy, Magic, and the New Sciences

Campanella did not compartmentalize by academic disciplines or discrete methodologies his complex universe of revolving interrelated worlds of knowledge. He linked inextricably religion and philosophy, and magic was for him a natural science. Although a convicted heretic and fraternizer with Jews, Turks, Protestants, and nonbelievers, Campanella clung unwaveringly to what he believed to be orthodox Catholicism, aiming only to reform its elements of hypocrisy, sophism, false prophecy, and false miracle-working (see, for example, poems 43–45). Along these lines, he implored Christ: “If You return to earth, come armed, Lord, / because enemies are preparing other crosses / —not Turks, not Jews—but those of Your own kingdom” (18.12–14). Campanella saw himself as born to vanquish the three “extreme evils,” or threats to true Christianity, “tyranny, sophism, and hypocrisy” (8.1–2). Influenced by the controversial mystic and esoterist Joachim of Flora (c. 1135–1202), Campanella understood his own time as Joachim of Flora’s “age of the Holy Spirit,” subsequent to the ages of the Father (the period of the Old Testament) and the Son (early Christianity until approximately Joachim of Flora’s own time).³⁷

Campanella offered in the *Scelta* his own version of the Our Father (46), as well as his own articulation of his creed in poem 3. The same

37. Whereas St. Thomas Aquinas refuted Joachim of Flora’s positions, some of which remained under suspicion of heresy, Dante and many of his contemporaries believed Joachim to be inspired by truth and among the blessed. Grillo noted: “Campanella was a staunch Catholic, but of a corrected Church in a naturalistic sense. He considered the *Sacraments* and the ceremonies of the cult as a matter of practical efficacy; therefore he advocated the annulment of those dogmas surpassed by geographic and scientific discoveries; because the Church ought to be purged, as Gioacchino of Fiore prophetized, for any dogmatic absurdities in this Age of the *Holy Spirit*, that is, of the maturity of the human conscience.” He continued (in *Tommaso Campanella in America*, 44, all emphasis in the original): “In his energetic attitude against the Protestants (cfr. *Dialogo Politico contro Luterani, et Calvinisti et altri Heretici*) he criticized Luther and other heretics, not for their struggle against the corruption of the Church, but because they struggled from without instead of from within; for their schism they broke the unity of the Church and had made more difficult the unity of the Christian world, which unity he advocated as necessary for his dream of a universal Commonwealth, and for the peace and welfare of mankind. Against Luther and Calvin and their anarchical ‘*free arbitrium*’ he wrote *De Praedestinatione* in defense of the Thomist doctrine of *Liberty* and of *Grace*. For those fallacies he was firm again the heretics; but as a heretic himself he did not hesitate to admire and compare the truly Christian concreteness of the ‘... Lutheran, / Who builds on faith, merit of works withstands,’ [he is quoting Symonds’s translation] against the empty formalism of the Catholic clergy. And with the same impetus he fought Machiavelli, not for the ‘means’ he recommended for the just ‘end’ to free his Country, but for his brutal individualism.”

accusations of presumption that Dante scholars have leveled at the re-writer of the Lord's Prayer in the *Divine Comedy* might apply to Campanella as well. Although poem 3 is one of the more tedious and less inspiring lyrics of this volume, it is extremely important for understanding the basis of Campanella's religiosity in his notable departures from the Apostles' Creed.

Orthodox Catholic beliefs permeate his verse, but so too convictions concerning Telesian materialism, Neoplatonism, and pansensism, often with attempts to reconcile them. The philosophy of Bernardino Telesio (1509–88), as articulated in *De natura iuxta propria principia* (which was published in 1565 and subsequently saw various revised and expanded editions under the title *De rerum natura iuxta propria principia*), inspired key aspects of Campanella's thought and poetry. Telesio, Campanella's fellow Calabrian philosopher, emphasized the need to come to knowledge from sense experience, though—as D. P. Walker rightly points out—sense experience does not automatically equate to empiricism, since Telesio's system rests on “an *a priori* construction of startling simplicity and rigidity.”³⁸ Telesio noted that man—because he feels and is part of nature—is capable of understanding and explaining nature. Nature consists of three principles: matter, heat, and cold. Matter is singular and corporeal, and contraries are never more than two (Telesio, *De natura* I, 2). The incorporeal contraries of heat and cold battle continuously for their self-preservation, and from this struggle to survive arise all of the conflict, growth, and other changes that we observe in nature and in ourselves. For example, the seasons change because both heat and cold expend their self-preservational powers—consuming and being consumed in turn—and the death of any creature is the movement toward cold and the giving of one's life heat as a kind of energy to another creature. Telesio claimed that rational beings could understand everything in nature according to the principles of matter, heat, and cold. Thus his thought fundamentally opposed Aristotelian notions of a static origin or foundation, privation as nonbeing, or matter as mere potential, for instance.³⁹ In terms of cosmology, Telesio's celestial and sublunar worlds did not differ radically at all; they shared in the conflict of the principles of heat and cold that animated all of nature in the *sen-sibilità universale* (the universal sense experience).

38. Walker, *Spiritual and Demonic Magic*, 189.

39. Bondi, *Introduzione a Telesio*, 25.

By steps, Telesio came to define other terms, such as *spiritus* (spirit) and *anima* (soul), which Roberto Bondi rightly notes he used as synonyms in ways that further diverge from Aristotelian tenets.⁴⁰ Campanella openly expounded his indebtedness to Telesian philosophy in many of his works, including poems and self-commentative notes on his poetry, most evidently in poem 68, “Al Telesio Cosentino” (A sonnet to Telesio of Cosenza). However, Campanella also extended Telesio’s thought to an extreme, religiously based outcome—“the belief that the millennium was imminent, and that this was being heralded by (amongst other portents) the sun’s gradually approaching the earth, which it would finally consume—the sun, the centre of love, would absorb the earth, the centre of hate.”⁴¹

Another philosophical strain present in Campanella’s verse is Neoplatonism, especially as articulated in the writings of Marsilio Ficino (1433–99, in particular his *De vita* [On life]). However, unlike many other Renaissance Neoplatonists, Campanella also consulted the earlier sources. As such, his lyrics embody much of the mystical and metaphysical traces of Neoplatonism that derive from the *Enneads* of Plotinus (third century AD). The universe is order and unity, at the center of which is the ultimately incomprehensible, all-good, and all-sufficient One, from which emanates the *Logos*, containing all of the forms or living intelligences reflecting (partially, and thus imperfectly) the One. Campanella de-emphasizes the Plotinian notion of the human soul in contemplation rising by steps to a higher grasping of God. For Campanella, every being in the Creator’s creation invites human souls—even the uneducated nonphilosophers—to understanding and wonder.

At the same time, however, Campanella is cognizant of the seeming disparity between the all-good, all-sufficient order and unity of the cosmos from the perspective of the One Being (sometimes described as *Luce* [light] or *Senno* [intellect], as in 24n1) and the mortal, suffering chaos and division of creaturely beings’ perspective. Ernst Cassirer writes, “For Neoplatonists, everything visible is an image of the invisible. Human beings cannot know God directly, but in every individual entity there is a trace of God.”⁴² For Campanella, though, Cassirer continues, “nature is

40. Ibid., 37.

41. Walker, *Spiritual and Demonic Magic*, 203, citing Campanella’s *Metaphysics* III.18.

42. Cassirer, *The Individual and the Cosmos*, 53. For more on Campanella’s existential understanding of imprisonment in its physical and metaphysical senses, and its precedents in Plotinus and Ficino, see Ernst’s study “Nascosto in ciclopea caverna.”

not only the reflection of the divine being and the divine force; rather, it becomes the book God has written with his own hand. . . . Campanella built his entire theory of knowledge and his entire metaphysics upon this foundation. For him, ‘to know’ means simply to read the divine signs that God has written into nature. *Intelligere* means nothing but *intus legere*” (ibid., 54).

John M. Headley rightly notes that Campanella’s formal philosophy, however, is pansensism: “In the pansensist universe language operates differently: words have a conjunctive power, identifying signifier and signified, being and thought, nature and perception; they operate as charms, possessing an incantational capacity when properly charged.”⁴³ From here, it is not much of a stretch to arrive at Campanella’s theories on magic and on the astrological influences on human health and political affairs. Some may see irony in the fact that Campanella’s occult practices became his means to attain the Catholic pope’s favor and, eventually, his own release from prison. But astrology and magic were rigorously scientific in Campanella’s mind. He understood natural magic, in fact, as a branch of science: “non solo le predette scienze, ma tutte l’altre servono alla magia” (not only the aforementioned sciences [including philosophy, theology, and the study of stars and plants, what we would consider astronomy and biology], but all of the other sciences serve the study of magic, as well).⁴⁴

Politics and Utopianism in Campanella’s Verse

One immediately striking aspect of Campanella’s religiosity and beliefs is that in spite of all of his writings, his was not a particularly logocentric faith. At the heart of his belief is the conviction that God demands action in this world (“filosofia di fatti il Senno vuole” [the Intellect wants a philosophy of actions], 79.1.1, not included in this volume). Campanella’s leadership of the 1599 Calabrian revolt emerges organically from some of the same briefly sketched religious and philosophical understandings of the relationship between macrocosm and microcosm (One-forms, Being-beings, Creator-creation, and so on). In poem 7, lines 1–3, the poet calls us, “residents of the world,” to turn our eyes to the Prime Intellect and see how much ugly tyranny deceives us in this world. In

43. Headley, *Campanella and the Transformation*, 162.

44. From *Del senso delle cose e della magia*, ed. Ernst, 176, my translation.

poem 8 he states that his studies of Power, Intellect, and Love of the “scoverta gran filosofia” (“the great philosophy revealed,” l. 6) are the remedy against the “famines, wars, plagues, envy, deceit, injustice, lust, sloth,” and the other evils of this world, and he exhorts the people in poem 33 to recognize the power that they have over presumptive kings. Campanella, identifying of course with the people, however, recognizes from his own betrayal and arrest that those people ultimately “hang and imprison themselves by their own hands, dealing themselves death and war for the same *carlino* [a coin] that they had given to the king [in taxation, presumably]” (33.9–11).

The subject of love is also political in Campanella’s *canzoniere*. According to the poet, love of wisdom (*philo-sophia*) can lead to “true love” (26). He would go on to emphasize an “amor comune” (a charitable communal love), which was also the basis of the Solarian society in his *City of the Sun* and a goal that he tried to realize in Calabria in 1599, and which is antithetical to “amor proprio” (self-love, the subject of poem 9). The political theorist that he most associates with self-love is Niccolò Machiavelli (1469–1527). From Campanella’s perspective, Machiavelli advocated in *The Prince* and some of his other writings a self-centered grasping for power by any means necessary.⁴⁵ Recalling the episode in Matthew 21:38 of the evil husbandmen who plotted to kill the estate’s heir in order to seize the land for themselves, Campanella scornfully defined the “regola del Macchiavello” (rule of Machiavelli) as: “ecce heres, occidamus eum” (here’s the heir, let’s kill him).⁴⁶ Campanella repeatedly laments that “Epicurean Machiavellian” princes of his day (as in 35n) are leading the people down the wrong path, and he endeavors to recall them from evil and ignorance to the good, the “Amor essenziale” (essential Love, 29).

Overview of Scholarly Perspectives on Campanella’s Poetry

The *editio princeps* of Campanella’s *Scelta* appeared in 1622.⁴⁷ Three known copies remain—one in the Stadtbibliothek of Zurich, one in

45. According to Headley, “After Aristotle the single greatest intellectual antagonist of Campanella was Niccolò Machiavelli” (*Campanella and the Transformation*, 180).

46. Campanella writes this opinion in the note to poem 16, which is not included in this edition.

47. On the controversy surrounding the precise place of publication, see A. Di Benedetto’s “Notizie campanelliane.”

Benedetto Croce's collection in Naples, and a third in the Biblioteca Oratoriana dei Padri Girolamini. Most scholars consider this last copy the most important, since it includes autograph corrections of the printing and belonged to Giovanni Valletta in the seventeenth century, consulted subsequently by Giambattista Vico (Firpo, *Tutte le opere di Tommaso Campanella*, 1265). Firpo credits Giovanni Gaspare Orelli (1834), Alessandro D'Ancona (1854), Giuseppe Bustelli (1875), Luigi Amabile (1881), and Giovanni Papini (1913) with providing preliminary philological contributions on Campanella's *Scelta*. The first critical edition, by Giovanni Gentile, appeared in 1915 and is the text used for the poems in the original Italian in this edition.⁴⁸

Campanella's poetry has certainly garnered important scholarly interest through the centuries, but its progress has come rather fitfully. His *Scelta* received relatively scarce attention for more than a century after its publication. In fact, the "difference" of Campanella's poetry, with respect to his contemporaries' lyric production, made him difficult to locate within literary history. It was not until 1802, when Johann Gottfried Herder in *Wer dieser Prometheus?* famously made Campanella the poet hero for romanticism, that Campanella's poetry found the critical lime-light. Campanella's spirit then became a source of inspiration, according to Bertrando Spaventa, for the Italian *Risorgimento*, and his legacy was inscribed in the *History of Italian Literature* by Francesco De Sanctis in 1870–71, heralding the proliferation of studies on Campanella's life and editions of his other works in the last quarter of the nineteenth century.

Idealist philosopher Benedetto Croce lauded Campanella for finding in poetry the points of connection between the Ideal and reality. In the twentieth century, Campanella's works formed the tug-of-war rope pulled taut by Croce and Gentile, whose philosophies diverged during the period of fascism. Many of Campanella's subsequent Ital-

48. Campanella's text in the original Italian is in the public domain. For the present edition, I have followed the lead of twentieth-century Italian scholars in modernizing spelling and punctuation and have made choices from among their suggestions in the very limited instances where his passages are unreadable or contested. The most notable of these emendations or alternate readings are available in the following sources: Mario Vinciguerra (1938); Gentile's follow-up to his 1915 edition (in 1939); Firpo (1954—he included the corrections that Campanella had penned in the Oratoriana copy and provided a detailed list of "conjectural emendations" on pp. 1269–87 of that volume); Bolzoni (1977—she based her text on Firpo's work, but preferred Romano Amerio's readings of five poems' passages—indicated on pages 89–90 of her volume). I note important interpretive divergences in the critical readings of the poems by these and other scholars in the annotations.

ian commentators, from Vinciguerra to Amerio, could not avoid using their ideological lenses to read Campanella.⁴⁹ Pasquale Tuscano's tenth chapter of *Del parlare onesto*, "Cinquant'anni di studi su Campanella poeta (1950–2000)," is fundamental reading for any scholar trying to make sense of the twists and turns (often academically political) of the (mostly) Italian contributions to Campanella studies.⁵⁰

The publication of critical editions of Campanella's works and historical documents about his life progressed in parallel to critical studies. Amabile's tireless, meticulous scholarship, published in the 1880s, details the trials, legal statements, and prison accounts of Campanella's life. Firpo launched the great dissemination and study of Campanella's works in the twentieth century, providing critical editions for the *Aphorisms*, the *Antiveneti*, the *Defense of Galileo*, the *Discourses to the Princes of Italy*, Campanella's poetry and *Poetics*, as well as his *Grammar* and *Rhetoric*. Indeed, Firpo aspired to publish Campanella's collected works, though he published only one volume, under the title *Tutte le opere di Tommaso Campanella* (in 1954). Firpo's critical contributions, including his many brilliant "Appunti campanelliani" that grace various volumes of the *Giornale critico di filosofia italiana*, remain indispensable for any detailed studies of Campanella's works.

Various other critics, mostly Italian, also helped to get Campanella's works published in twentieth-century critical editions. Romano Amerio focused mostly on the theological works, including the *Theologicorum* (Theology, in thirty volumes, 1936–80) and *Della necessità di una filosofia cristiana* (On the necessity of a Christian philosophy, 1953), and he wrote important monographs on Campanella's theology. Meanwhile, Norberto Bobbio tackled both the Italian and Latin versions of Campanella's *City of the Sun* (1941), Adriano Seroni added, among other works, the *Poesie* (1962), and Giovanni di Napoli the *Metafisica* (in three volumes, 1967). Luigi de Franco provided *La filosofia che i sensi ci additano* (1974) and the *Philosophia sensibus demonstrata* (1992), Bolzoni the literary works of Campanella (1977), and Armando Brissoni the *De libris propriis* (1996). Germana Ernst has provided (and continues to publish) many other works, including the *Articuli prophetales* (1977), the *Monarchia di Spagna* (1989),

49. See Giancotti, *Tommaso Campanella: Le poesie*, cxii–cxiii.

50. Tuscano is lucid and astute, resisting as much as he can his own bias in his analysis of Campanella criticism. He treats critical contributions by Italian, French, German, and Spanish scholars, as well as one Russian study, but he appears to ignore entirely all scholarship, admittedly rare, written in English.

the *Lettere* (2000), and *L'ateismo trionfato* (2004). These and other continental scholars (Léon Blanchet, Gisela Bock, Rodolfo De Mattei, Franc Ducros, Gianfranco Formichetti, Pasquale Tuscano, and Antonino Verzera, for starters) make important critical contributions to the interpretation of Campanella's works.

Among Campanella scholars writing in English, Daniel J. Donno provides an excellent facing-page translation of Campanella's *City of the Sun* (1981), and Richard Blackwell has made Campanella's *Defense of Galileo* eminently readable in his 1994 translation. Bernardino M. Bonansea, Hilary Gatti, and John M. Headley are among the few scholars to dedicate book-length studies in English primarily or exclusively to Campanella's work. Bonansea focuses on Campanella's role in philosophical history, and Gatti examines Renaissance epistemology as exemplified by Campanella. Headley's keen historical approach aims to situate Campanella in his world through a focus on five issues: the fall of Aristotelianism and rise of empirical science, revitalization of Christianity post-Machiavelli, the hope of a universal empire under Habsburg Spain or Bourbon France, the cooperation of a papal theocracy in this harmonious world order, and the pursuit of world evangelization in light of America's discovery and the invention of the printing press. Francesco Grillo provided in 1954 *Tommaso Campanella in America: A Critical Bibliography and a Profile* (supplemented in 1957), a work that is now dated and in need of an update. Many of the best recent articles and notes on Campanella appear in the journal *Bruniana & Campanelliana*, founded in 1995, a crucial forum for Campanella scholarship in various languages. Campanella has also been the subject of a made-for-television movie, *La città del sole*, directed by Gianni Amelio (1973), and historical novels, such as *Il romanzo di Tommaso Campanella*, by Dante Maffia (1996).

A Note on This Translation

Campanella's *Scelta di poesie filosofiche* (Selection of philosophical poems) is still not available in its entirety to an English-language readership. Of the eighty-nine poems composing the volume, the most substantial collection of English translations (sixty sonnets and one canzone) appeared in 1878 in *The Sonnets of Michael Angelo Buonarroti and Tommaso Campanella*, by John Addington Symonds. Symonds's achievement is considerable. His well-crafted translations present Campanella in rhymed Victorian English—lyrical, aesthetically pleasing, and displaying all of the proper

decorum. It was an astonishing display of Symonds's *sprezzatura* in poetic translation. Unfortunately, however, his translation did not convey Campanella's poetic voice, which modulated from gratingly raw to almost transcendently polished, at times rustic in its Calabrian allusions and at other times urbanely finished in legalistic Latin.

In 1999, Simona Draghici presented what she called Campanella's *Sonnets*. In that volume, Draghici does not provide her own translations of the poetry but reprints Symonds's antiquated translation, adding her own introduction and translation of some of Campanella's self-commentary.⁵¹ The only other English translations of the poems in Campanella's *Scelta* are even less extensive, usually only isolated examples translated as part of a critical study of Campanella's thought or as part of an anthology.⁵²

Brief analysis of Symonds's translations of two sonnets by Campanella (1 and 35) should highlight the need for the new translations in this volume. Campanella's proemial sonnet foregrounds important aspects of his poetic endeavor, which must be maintained in any translation. The first sonnet begins with "Io" (I):

Io, che nacqui dal Senno e di Sofia,
sagace amante del ben, vero e bello,
il mondo vaneggiante a sé rubello
richiamo al latte della madre mia.

Campanella purposefully opens his volume with the first-person singular pronoun and states his progenitors: "Senno," that is, Nous/Intellect (masculinely gendered), and "Sofia," or Wisdom (femininely gendered). We also learn here that the poet is a self-proclaimed lover of a Trinitarian-

51. Her work had one distinct advantage: Draghici recognized Symonds's mistake in attributing Campanella's self-commentary to his first editor, Tobia Adami. Draghici's valiant attempts to translate Campanella's difficult language underscore the potential pitfalls of this undertaking: "Words do not succeed to convey the essence of things; nor all the known things have their own voice" (123); "and I do not say that the author's own and occult meanings are not the same" (138); "This sonnet has been composed because few will listen to it nor that I wish to make a statement" (143-4); and "In this sonnet, sequence to the first on the same subject-matter" (152).

52. The three most significant examples are as follows: George Kay's prose translations of five sonnets and excerpts from four canzoni, plus one sonnet that Campanella excluded from the *Scelta*; Barbara St. Clare Post's 1979 Brown University thesis ("Tommaso Campanella: The Theory and Practice of Metaphor in Selected Poems"), which includes original translations of five sonnets and part of one canzone; and a selection of four sonnets and parts of six canzoni by five different translators in volume 33.3 of the *Philosophical Forum* (Lackey et al.).

like Being, which resembles but does not explicitly equate directly to the Christian Godhead. Throughout the *Scelta*, Campanella will elaborate his three “Primalities” (Power, Intellect, and Love) in one Being, their “Principles” or “Pro-principles” (potential, intellection/cognition, and volition), and their objects (existence/being, truth, and goodness).⁵³

In this first quatrain, Campanella also declares his purpose: to call the raving world, rebellious against itself, back to Wisdom. Symonds’s translation, though lyrical, misses these points:

Born of God’s Wisdom and Philosophy,
Keen lover of true beauty and true good,
I call the vain self-traitorous multitude
Back to my mother’s milk.

Symonds does not present the first-person singular voice proclaiming “I” until the third verse. Philosophically, Intellect/Nous is an entirely different kind of knowledge from Wisdom. The poet does not spring from “wisdom” and “love of wisdom” (*philo-sophia*), as this translation suggests. Symonds also inserts “God” where there is no explicit mention of Him, and he collapses the terms of Campanella’s trinity into a very Platonic duality of beauty and goodness. In Campanella’s poem, the world is raving or delirious and rebels against itself, probably without much awareness of its actions. It is not “the vain self-traitorous multitude” portrayed in Symonds’s version.

The second stanza of this translation is even more unfaithful to the meaning of Campanella’s original:

Essa mi nutre, al suo marito pia;
e mi trasfonde seco, agile e snello,
dentro ogni tutto, ed antico e novello,
perché conoscitor e fabbro io sia.

for it is she,

Faithful to God her spouse, who nourished me,
Making me quick and active to intrude
Within the inmost veil, where I have viewed
And handled all things in eternity.

53. Incidentally, Campanella manifests his understanding of these three Primalities in various ways in other works. For those readers familiar with his *City of the Sun*, for instance, Pon (Potenza/Potere [Power]), Sin (Sapienza [Wisdom]), and Mor (Amore [Love]) ideally rule with the Metaphysic. Bernardino M. Bonansea provides excellent analyses in English of Campanella’s metaphysics.

God reappears mysteriously—and unwarrantedly—in Symonds’s fifth verse.⁵⁴ All of the verbs in the original are in the present tense. In Campanella’s version, the poet is nourished by Wisdom’s milk and, growing in her substance transfused with Intellect, becomes both “knower and maker,” that is, one who has both contemplative and active virtues. In Campanella’s poem there is no intruding “within [any] inmost veil.” The models that Campanella and Symonds have in mind for this poem are completely different. Campanella’s model is an allegorical genealogy, with allusive theological undertones (contemplative and active virtues); Symonds’s model is, instead, hermetic.

I would like to emphasize this point because it is a common misunderstanding among English-reading scholars, who almost invariably compare Campanella to Giordano Bruno. Granted, these contemporaries, both Dominicans and inmates at one point in the same Roman prison, have some intellectual enthusiasms in common. But hermeticism, particularly in its valorization of secrets and symbolic knowledge available only to accomplished scholars, is not one of them. Bruno gave new life to hermeticism, and Frances Yates, among others, was correct in this characterization of Bruno’s project. **But Campanella, who saw himself as emulating and expanding upon biblical prophets and Dante, believed his message was understandable not exclusively to the adepts of esoteric knowledge, but also, and perhaps most especially, to the simple.** As part of his ideal of a harmonious society under one rule, Campanella strove to promulgate his ideas to anyone and everyone who would listen to him. Although his writings will appear far from an easy read to anyone today, Campanella purposefully shunned writing in the kind of coded hyperintellectualistic language aimed at Bruno’s ideal readership. Campanella paid little attention to Bruno’s great obsessions—such as heroic frenzies, mnemonic theories, and emblems—and was more interested in understanding his own place relative to God in this world than he was in Bruno’s rapturous praise of the **Ente uno for his creation of innumerable other suns and earths. Finally, in Campanella’s poem 1, verse 8, his gift is not just as “knower,” but as “conoscitor e fabbro,” knower and maker.** Knowledge for Campanella is of little import without direct and personal action. Implied here is undoubtedly Campanella’s leadership of

54. As Getto insists: “God never appears as the Trinity . . . the Trinity is substituted by the three ‘primalities’ that are Power, Intellect, and Love” (“La poesia di Tommaso Campanella,” 158, my translation).

the Calabrian revolt, but we should also consider Campanella's choice to feign insanity, to withstand numerous tortures and seemingly endless imprisonment, to live a "painful life, / worse than a thousand deaths" (72.2.1–2) in his determination to prophesy to others, which stands in contrast to Bruno's brave and stubborn stance that led to his execution at the stake in Campo dei Fiori in 1600.⁵⁵

The concluding two tercets of Campanella's proemial sonnet present his vision of the relationship between the world (in all of its goodness, trueness, and beauty) and the limited human means of understanding it, according to the accepted schools of thought.

Se tutto il mondo è come casa nostra,
fuggite, amici, le seconde scuole,
ch'un dito, un grano ed un detal vel mostra.
Se avanzano le cose le parole,
doglia, superbia e l'ignoranza vostra
stemprate al fuoco ch'io rubbai dal sole.

While it may seem, according to Symonds's rendering, that Campanella advocates that his readers drop out of high school ("If the whole world's our home where we may run, / Up, friends, forsake those secondary schools / Which give grains, units, inches for the whole!"), the poet is actually advocating learning from the observation of nature and from experience. For Campanella, Artistotelianism has created a false, poor replica of the world, insisting that it is true and that it is the only worthy object of study among philosophers. Campanella, borrowing from the myth of Prometheus, places himself in the role of the Titan who holds a powerful secret of the gods—one akin to fire that requires actual experience to understand fully, that seems magical and is very dangerous, but is also useful. It can be used to refine dross such as grief, arrogance, and ignorance. This sonnet is the manifesto of a Renaissance *poeta militante*.

Poem 35, "That the Evil Prince is Not the Mind of His Republic," presents numerous translation challenges, not least of which is the clever play on words of the first verse.

Mentola al comun corpo è quel, non mente,
che da noi, membra, a sé tutte raccoglie

55. Instead, Campanella, like the prophet Jonah, accepts in the end what he believes to be God's will: "Like Jonah 'he is submerged,' Campanella chooses life and imprisonment, and 'what he does / he offers as a sacrifice to the Holy Intellect'" (Ernst, "Nascosto," 64, my translation).

sostanze e gaudi, e non fatiche e doglie:
ch'esausti n'ha, come cicale spente.

Campanella plays on the terms “mente” (mind) and “mentola.” “Mentola,” though rarely used in Italian today, is and was unabashedly, unapologetically obscene, a crude term for the male sexual organ, typically used as an insult. Symonds’s prim attempts at avoiding the term’s translation fail to render the spirit of Campanella’s verse:

Organ of rut, not reason, is the lord
Who from the body politic doth drain
Lust for himself, instead of toil and pain,
Leaving us lean as crickets on dry sward.

The stanza presents the commonplace of philosophical political thought, that macrocosm-microcosm notion of a republic as a body politic.⁵⁶ Just as a human body has different appendages or members that perform different tasks, so do the different participants in the republic serve in different capacities. For Campanella, society is a “comun corpo” (common or shared body). From this notion comes the belief that the head of state is the mind of the body politic, since ideally it is the head’s mind, above all, that should coordinate the body to work for the good of the whole organism.⁵⁷

Campanella thus poetically suggests that the evil prince thinks instead with his “little head,” that is, the male sexual organ, and is therefore focused not on the rational good of the whole society, but rather on his own self-serving pleasure. For this reason, I have rendered the opening stanza in this way:

The dickhead of the common body, not the head,
is that member of ours who takes for himself
all the riches and joys, not the toils and pains,
which he has exhausted like spent cicadas.

The image of cicadas, shriveled and desiccated, was a Platonic analogy that Campanella probably borrowed from Ficino: in the veneal act the male cicada loses its humors and vital fluids, leaving itself

56. For a detailed discussion of this issue, see Ernst H. Kantorowicz’s book *The King’s Two Bodies*.

57. Another important example of the macrocosm-microcosm comparison in Campanella’s poetry is in poem 4, in which Campanella presents his version of a Platonic conceit. Human beings live in the world of God as tapeworms or lice live on an animal.

spent.⁵⁸ The self-serving pleasure of the evil prince, Campanella specifies in his self-commentary, is “epicureo macchiavellesco” (Epicurean and Machiavellian). In other words, Campanella accuses the evil prince of Epicurean tendencies, such as overindulging in pleasurable things and activities, while taking whatever Machiavellian measures he deems necessary, however immoral, to maintain his power. Campanella highlights this power differential between prince and people in the third and fourth verses: the prince collects substances (possessions, luxury items, taxes, foodstuffs, anything deriving from the lifeblood of the people) and pleasures (“sostanze e gaudi”), while the people sow toil and pain (“fatiche e doglie”).

But these pleasures and pains are part of an extended double entendre, more explicitly elaborated in the second and third stanzas of the poem:

Almen, come Cupido, dolcemente
ci burlasse, che ‘n grembo della moglie
getta il sangue e ‘l vigor, che da noi toglie,
struggendo noi, per far novella gente.

Ma, con inganno spiacevole, in vaso
li sparge o in terra, onde non puoi sperare
alcuna ricompensa al mortal caso.

Campanella seems to suggest that the prince’s indulgence would be worth the sacrifice demanded of the people if it produced offspring (“novella gente”). After all, Campanella views favorably the continuation of the generations of life, like the continuation of the good republic. For Campanella the prince of the republic gets his blood and vigor from the people, who form other parts of the body politic (“il sangue e ‘l vigor, che da noi toglie”). In other words, some people of the republic are called upon to make the ultimate sacrifice, to be destroyed in order to satisfy the need to propagate the republic. But, according to Campanella, the prince’s actions are an unsatisfying deception, a poor mockery (“inganno spiacevole”) of coitus for the purpose of conception, since his

58. Germana Ernst states in “Note campanelliane,” p. 477: “L’immagine deriva dal secondo dei tre libri *De vita* di Ficino: nel cap. XV del *De vita longa* Mercurio pronuncia un discorso contro Venere, rilevando come le sue lusinghe e i suoi piaceri non si addicano ai vecchi, e anzi risultino a loro del tutto sconsigliabili. I piaceri collegati con la generazione giovano infatti solo alla creatura che nascerà; quanto al generante, privato degli umori e succhi che vanno a costituire la nuova creatura, resta svuotato e rinsecchito, proprio come, dice Ficino con un’immagine che, come è stato suggerito, deriva dal *Fedro* platonico, un guscio secco di una cicala, che ha trasferito ogni sua sostanza alla piccola cicala che nascerà . . .” She cites Ficino’s Latin in *Opera omnia* (Basel, 1576; repr., Turin: Bottega d’Erasmus, 1962), vol. 2, p. 521; and Plato’s *Phaedr.* 259a.

self-serving pleasure amounts to masturbation, the destruction of the people's blood and vigor with no hope of any compensation or regeneration. In my translation I try to express Campanella's frustration at the futility of princely wastefulness, through similarly frank bodily terms:

If only, like Cupid, he teased us
sweetly, spurting into his wife's lap
the blood and vigor, that he takes from us,
destroying us to make new people.

But with nasty deceit,
in a piss pot he strews them
or on the ground, where you cannot hope
for any compensation for the mortal case.

In contrast, Symonds's lofty and flowery language might approach the same general sense of wasted potential, but certainly not the poet's tone:

Well too if like Love would filch our hoard
With pleasure to ourselves, sluicing our vein
And vigour to perpetuate the strain
Of life by splith of life within us stored!

Love's cheat yields joy and profit. Kings, less kind,
Harm those they hoodwink; sow bare rock with seed;
Nor use our waste to propagate the breed.

Campanella would likely have protested strongly the characterization of the people as "our waste." The evil prince may cast his people in the equivalent of a waste pot, but the people never become "waste" for Campanella.

His final tercet summarizes the weakness of the state that is led by this kind of prince:

Corpo meschin, cui mente ha da guidare
piccola in capo piccolin, ch'ha naso,
ma non occhi, né orecchie, né parlare.

The body politic has only a small mind in a "small head," the male member, to guide it. Campanella's assertion that this small head has a nose ("ch'ha naso") is admittedly difficult to interpret. "Avere [buon] naso" in Italian can signify that somebody has a good nose for something, as English speakers might say that somebody has a good head for politics, for instance. But this expression also likely contains a double meaning, particularly considering the popular adage that compares the size or shape of a man's nose to his member. But, Campanella adds, the small head does not have

eyes, ears, or speech. In other words, the evil prince, who acts as the penis of the republic, does not have the vision or the capacities to listen, debate, or negotiate on behalf of the state. I offer a very literal translation here:

Wretched body, which has a mind so small
to guide it in a very small head that has a nose,
but no eyes nor ears nor speech.

Symonds's translation of the final tercet continues to diverge from the original:

Heaven help that body which a little mind,
Housed in a head, lacking ears, tongue, and eyes,
And senseless but for smell, can tyrannise!

His use of the jussive subjunctive ("Heaven help") is, like his repetition of "God" in his translation of Campanella's proemial sonnet, an appeal to heaven entirely absent in the original Italian. Symonds also suggests that the nose of verse 13 must refer metonymically to the sense of smell, or perhaps more specifically to stink, which may be appropriate for an organ through which waste is disposed, but I am not convinced that this is the direction in which Campanella's poem is moving.

Campanella is even more explicit about his meaning in his self-commentary to this poem, the last part of which reads: "Nota con che arguzia dice che la mentola di Cupido almeno dà gusto, se ben c'inganna con falso gusto per tôrci la sostanza e far altri uomini di quella; ma il principe tristo ci mangia con disgusto, e senza speme di frutto; pensa, perch'è cieco, senza lingua e senza orecchie." Here Campanella praises his own cleverness in his *mente/mentola* play on words. He goes on to state that at least Cupid's *mentola* gives pleasure: in other words, giving up the substance of one's life in order to propagate life is compensated by the pleasure of orgasm. But the evil prince consumes the people's life force with disgust and without hope of fruitfulness or conceiving new people. Draghici translates *mentola* as "sham" and *ci mangia* as "who eats": "Notice with what astuteness it says that Cupid's sham at least gives delight, though he deceives with false pleasure in order to draw away the substance and make other men out of it . . . but the sad prince, who eats in disgust, is without hope of issue; wonder why he is blind, without tongue and without ears."⁵⁹ I prefer, "Note with what wit he states that Cupid's

59. Ernst perceptively points out: "A questo proposito, possiamo ricordare che secondo Campanella, gli 'occhi' e le 'orecchie' del principe sono i buoni consiglieri di cui egli deve va-

dick at least gives pleasure, even though it deceives us with false pleasure in order to wrench the substance from us and make other men from it; but the evil prince consumes us with disgust, and without the hope of fruitfulness. Think—because it is blind, without tongue or ears.”

In some ways this poem may seem an anomaly in the *Scelta*. It is true that none of Campanella’s other poems could be considered quite as sexually obscene as this one. But because this poem expresses so frankly its sense of injustice, portrays an irreverence to the power of authority though it is not a good exemplar, and offers an unflinching Auerbachian realism, this sonnet is not at all unusual in the collection of his poems.

Campanella’s poetry is difficult—extremely difficult—and I profoundly respect and am indebted to the work of previous translators. I have attempted in every way to avoid confusion and mistakes in this translation, but I also recognize that fully appreciating Campanella’s philosophical poetry is a lifelong endeavor fraught with perhaps inevitable oversights.

The present edition provides new English translations of Campanella’s most original or characteristically idiosyncratic poems, with his self-commentary. The poems of the *Scelta* excluded here consist mostly of compositions that praise relatively unknown personages or concern the politics of cities and nations of Campanella’s day, or poems that reiterate themes treated in other poems included in this volume. This excluded material, which I have already translated and annotated for specialists who might wish to pursue Campanella’s poetry in greater depth, is in preparation as a supplemental volume of *Bruniana & Campanelliana*. The present volume highlights those aspects of Campanella’s lyric production that are most likely to be of interest to readers of early modern poetry and European philosophy: his poetic voice, personal mythology, autobiographical allusions, literary models and antimodels, and metaphysical illuminations.

Certainly any translation entails difficult compromise decisions. A translation, no matter how good, never maintains equally well the poet’s semantic meaning and the rhyme or artistry of its expression in the original

lersi: nella dedica del *De sensu rerum* a Richelieu, ad esempio, il cardinale, additato quale modello esemplare di ministro avveduto, viene presentato come l’animale sacro di cui parla Ezechiele, ‘alato, con quattro teste, pieno di occhi davanti e dietro, e parimenti dotato di orecchie’ (*plenum oculis ante et retro, imo et aequaliter auritum*), e più sotto, dopo l’esaltazione delle sue virtù di forza, prudenza, acume, significate dal suo stesso nome, si ribadisce che nulla di quanto avviene in ogni parte del mondo sfugge ai suoi innumerevoli occhi ed orecchie. Di qui la polemica contro gli adulatori e i cortigiani, che, per difendere interessi e vantaggi personali, e coprire i propri vizi, perseguitano coloreo che si pongono come collaboratori fidati e solleciti del bene comune . . . ” (“Note campanelliane,” 478).

language, for instance. With this understanding, I have opted to convey Campanella's semantic meaning as precisely as possible. This translation thus emphasizes precisely what Symonds's version did not. He preferred rendering the poems' lyrical qualities in beautiful rhymed English sonnets, even if he had to force Campanella's meaning in the English version. My translation might best be described as prose, in the same way Robert M. Durling intended the description of his English translation of Dante's *Divine Comedy* (*Inferno*, vol. 1 [Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996], v). I, too, want the economy and literal rendering without the padding typical of verse translations. I am also more interested in conveying meaning and syntax than I am in sound effects (though Campanella's poetry is not usually as beautiful when read aloud in the original as Dante's poem is).

A second inevitable decision the poetry translator faces is whether or not to make the lyrics as accessible as possible in the second language or to maintain as much as possible the opacity of the original. Here I strive to maintain Campanella's notorious difficulty, and to resist the flattening of the polysemous quality of his verse. Ultimately, I believe Campanella's message is one that requires active reader interpretation to understand, even in the original, and I do not believe that a translator's interpretation should dictate or supersede it. Campanella remains an undeniably intelligent, strangely elusive, arduously interpreted, sometimes even seemingly mad author. The successful translator, in my opinion, will not obscure these qualities by making the English too simplistic.

Thirdly, the translator must err either on the side of literalism or on the side of the force and swiftness of the original verse. In this case I choose the side of literalism, though I try to balance these two aspects as much as possible in my translation. Ultimately this choice is the product of the first two decisions. If my priorities are preserving semantic meaning and maintaining the difficulty of Campanella's work in the translation, my translation will inevitably be more literal than swift. I have made all of these decisions presupposing a specific anticipated readership: scholars of early modern comparative poetry and European philosophy. For these readers, a literal version of Campanella's philosophical poetry will be most useful. I have chosen not to translate Campanella's Latin, but instead offer the English in parentheses after the first reference, so as to maintain the distinction that Campanella purposely makes between Latin and the vernacular Italian.

Determining how to treat gender-related issues of translation was more difficult. Where it was clear that Campanella understood a singu-

lar, masculinely gendered being, I did not hesitate to refer to it as “he.” For example, in poem 9, where Campanella is clearly referring to male ecclesiastics in the plural (“que’ di nostre celle,” line 7), then to each one (who “came to love only *himself*” [my emphasis]), it makes sense to use the masculine pronoun. I also refer throughout to Campanella’s Dio (God) as “He,” and I use masculine terms in reference to objects or concepts that the poet considers male (such as *Senno* [Intellect] as “father,” in poem 1). Correspondingly, when Campanella personifies an object or concept that is femininely gendered, I refer to it as “she” (Campanella calls *Sofia*, Wisdom, his mother).

Campanella also seems to use the word *patria* in a somewhat unusual way. Etymologically, the word is related to the word *pater* or *padre* (father), so the closest translation might be “fatherland.” “Nation” and “country” are possible alternatives for the translator wishing to avoid explicitly gendered language. But it is clear from his self-commentary on poem 10, for instance, that he uses another term for “nation” (*nazione*). What is more, Campanella’s use of *patria* in this and in various other contexts suggests that *patria* has more of the meaning of a “community of people who closely cooperate together” or “society”; I sometimes prefer the latter as a translation for *patria*, other times preferring “country” (as in 13.1).

There are certain terms that Campanella uses with great frequency, and they present translation problems of their own. *Ente, essere, esistenza, essenza* (being, to be, existence, essence), and so on, the various forms of beingness, are metaphysical terms that Campanella understands from Aristotle and Aristotelian commentators over the centuries, as well as from St. Thomas Aquinas, Neoplatonists, and his many other readings in philosophy and theology. For Campanella, God is pure existence, and following Aquinas, he understands that existence is an act, not a thing. The essence of a creature, or created thing, is to-be-a-certain-thing. Thus God is [Being], and [human] beings are this-or-that-thing, though all beings participate in Being. Essence and existence, in other words, are identical only in God. In the poem translations, I attempt to balance as much as possible a maintenance of the technical nature and distinctiveness of terms of being, while keeping some semblance of readability in the poetry. The past participle for “to be” in Italian, *stato*, implies through its temporal pastness a fixity or definability of being, that is, a “state.” Terms like *ragion di stato*, “reason of state” (in excluded 19.8, for instance), which may be familiar to English-language readers in its applications to statecraft by Machiavelli or others, are thus quite close to

terms indicating a reason for being (similar to the French *raison d'état* / *raison d'être*). In other words, in the original Italian, statecraft is metaphysical in a way that may not be immediately apparent to English readers. I know of no way to render the simplicity of this notion in English.

Other terms, such as *anima*, *animo*, *animato*, and *animal/animale* appear more closely related in the original Italian than they might in English translation, even though the reader of the English translation should keep in mind the etymological and, for Campanella, conceptual proximity of these terms. *Anima* most frequently means “soul,” particularly for Campanella in its significance as the “eternal life” of a being. *Animo* can stand for both the “mind” and the “heart” of an individual, depending on its context, and it is frequently associated with matters of will or courage. A *stato d'animo* (literally, the state of one's mind/heart/will) is what we typically refer to as one's “mood.” As in English, too, *animato*, or “animate,” refers to life or livingness, enlivening, or making something or someone livelier. In its origins, “animate” probably referred most specifically to the act of a life-giving Being breathing a soul (*anima*) into a being's body or form. That creaturely being was an *animal* or *animale*, an animal, not solely in our conventional evolutionary understanding of “animal” as a beast, but of any animated or living being participating in Being.

Subject-verb agreement in Campanella's poetry also deserves comment. Campanella frequently uses singular verbs with what initially appears to be a series of multiple subjects. In poem 3, for instance, in lines 10–11, “vien stabilito” (is established) is singular and appears to have only “lo smisurato spazio” (the immeasurable space) as its subject. But Campanella actually makes “the immeasurable space and His beings” the subject, but keeps the verb singular, likely so as to emphasize the oneness of space and beings as God's total creation. Similarly in line 13, Campanella states that “l'unità e l'essenza vien da lui” (unity and essence comes [singular] from Him). At times this disagreement between subjects and verbs can appear awkward and erroneous, but I maintain them in the translation to underscore the way in which Campanella abstractly conceives them.

Many of Campanella's allusions to other works (literary, theological, political, scientific) and even to his own earlier writings, because they are from memory, are inexact or unattributed, making the work of Campanella scholarship a continual challenge, even today. I do not pretend to furnish all the references to his allusions, but only enough information to help the reader wanting to pursue Campanella's interests in greater depth to find a starting place.

1 Proemio

- 1 Io, che nacqui dal Senno e di Sofia,¹
sagace amante del ben, vero e bello,
il mondo vaneggiante a sé rubello
richiamo al latte della madre mia.
- 5 Essa mi nutre, al suo marito pia;
e mi trasfonde seco, agile e snello,
dentro ogni tutto, ed antico e novello,
perché conoscitor e fabbro io sia.²
- Se tutto il mondo è come casa nostra,³
- 10 fuggite, amici, le seconde scuole,⁴
ch'un dito, un grano ed un detal ve 'l mostra.⁵
- Se avanzano le cose le parole,⁶
doglia, superbia e l'ignoranza vostra
stemprate al fuoco ch'io rubbai dal sole.⁷

1. "Senno" è l'intelletto eterno. "Sofia," la sapienza creata, diffusa in ogni ente, che, impregnata dall'intelletto divino, partorisce i veri sapienti, ma da sé, i sofisti e rubelli a se stessi, in quanto creati da Dio.

2. Dal divino Senno aiutato, il savio penetra, con esso lui, quasi volando, tutte le cose fatte e future.

3. Questo verso contiene tutta la loica e tutti sillogismi, che dalla parte al tutto ci guidano a sapere.

4. "Scuole seconde" sono quelle che non da Dio nella Natura imparano, ma da' libri degli uomini, parlanti come opinanti di proprio capriccio, e non come testimonianti di quello che imparârò nella scuola di Dio.

5. Col dito replicato si fa il palmo, dal palmo il braccio, dal braccio la canna, e ogni numero crescente. Col grano replicato, i pesi; col detal riempito, le misure. E questo è il modo di loicare più noto in matematica.

6. Le parole non arrivano a dir l'essenza delle cose; né tutte le cose note hanno la lor propria voce, e l'ignote nulla: talché la deficienza, l'equivocazioni e sinonimità fan doglia a' savi, che veggono non potersi sapere; superbia a' sofisti, che mettono il saper nelle parole; ignoranza a tutti.

7. Prometeo rubbò il fuoco, e fu però carcerato nel Caucaso, perché faceva . . .

1 Proem

- 1 I, who was born of Intellect and Wisdom,¹
wise lover of the good, true, and beautiful,
summon the raving world rebelling against itself
back to the milk of my mother.
- 5 She nurtures me, devoted to her husband;
and transfuses me with him, agile and lean,
in every all, both ancient and new,
so that knower and maker I may be.²
- If all the world is as our home,³
- 10 flee, friends, the second schools,⁴
for but a finger, a kernel, and a thimble do they show you.⁵
- If things surpass words, temper⁶
your grief, haughtiness, and ignorance
in the fire I stole from the sun.⁷

1. "Senno" is the eternal Intellect; "Sophia," the Wisdom created and diffused in every being, which, impregnated by the divine Intellect, gives birth to the true wise men, but of itself, produces only the sophists and those who rebel against themselves in as much as they are created by God.

2. Aided by the divine Intellect, and by means of it, the wise man penetrates all things past and future, as if in flight.

3. This verse contains all the logic and all the syllogisms that guide us in knowledge from the part to the whole.

4. "Second schools" are those that learn not from God in Nature, but from the books of men, spoken as the opinions of one's own caprice, and not as the testimonies of what is learned in the school of God.

5. A finger doubled makes a palm, a palm doubled makes an arm, an arm doubled makes a cane, and so forth to create every longer length. With a kernel repeated, we measure weights; and with a thimble, volume. And this is the most noted method of logic in mathematics.

6. Words cannot arrive at expressing the essence of things; nor do all the things known have their own name, and the unknown things do not have even that much. Hence deficiency, ambiguities, and synonymies cause the wise men to grieve because they cannot come to know; cause the sophists to be haughty because they place knowledge in words; and cause everyone to be ignorant.

7. Prometheus stole fire and was thus imprisoned in the Caucasus because he did so . . .

2 A' poeti¹

- 1 In superbia il valor, la santitate
passò in ipocrisia, le gentilezze
in cerimonie, e 'l senno in sottigliezze,
l'amor in zelo, e 'n liscio la beltate,
5 mercé vostra, poeti, che cantate
finti eroi, infami ardor, bugie e sciocchezze,
non le virtù, gli arcani e le grandezze
di Dio, come facea la prisca etate.
Son più stupende di Natura l'opre
10 che 'l finger vostro, e più dolci a cantarsi,
onde ogni inganno e verità si scuopre.
Quella favola sol dèe approvarsi,
che di menzogne l'istoria non cuopre
e fa le genti contra i vizi armarsi.

3 Fede naturale del vero sapiente*

- 1 Io credo in Dio, Possanza, Senno, Amore,¹
un, vita, verità, bontate, immenso,
primo ente, re degli enti e creatore.
Non è parte, né tutto, inciso o estenso,

1. Come scrisse l'autore nella sua *Poetica*, i poeti moderni hanno con le bugie perniciose contraffatto la virtù, e ornato i vizi colla veste di quelle. E grida lor contro, che tornino al prisco poetare. E perché pensano che le favole sono degne di cantarsi per l'ammirazione, dice che più mirabili sono l'opere di Natura. E qui condanna Aristotile, che fece la favola essenziale al poeta: poichè questa si deve fingere solo dove si teme dir il vero per conto de' tiranni, come Natan parlò in favola a David; o a chi non vuol sapere il vero, si propone con gusto di favole burlesche o mirabili; o a chi non può capirlo, si parla con parabole grosse, come Esopo e Socrate usàro, e più il santo Vangelo. Talché l'autore lauda quella favola solo che non

falsifica l'istoria, come è quella di Dido in Virgilio bruttissima; ed ammonisce la gente contra i vizi proprii o strani, e l'accende alla virtù. Laonde questo ultimo verso dicea nel primo esemplare: "E fa le genti di virtù infiammarsi."

*Propone in questo canto quel ch'egli crede, per metafisico sillogismo, di Dio e delle sue opere nella natura ed arte; e a dichiararlo ci bisogna tutta la sua metafisica.

1. Predicati essenziali di Dio, noti in metafisica.

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1. Predicati essenziali di Dio, noti in metafisica.

2 To the Poets¹

- 1 Valor degraded to haughtiness,
holiness to hypocrisy, etiquette
to affectation, intellect to subtleties,
love to zeal, and beauty to primping,
5 no thanks to you, poets, who sing
of pretend heroes, vile passions, lies, and nonsense,
instead of the virtues, mysteries, and greatness
of God, as did the age of old.
- Works of Nature are more stupendous
10 than your fictions, and sweeter to sing,
whence every deceit and truth is uncovered.
- Only that fable should be approved,
which does not cover up history with lies,
but makes the people take up arms against vices.

3 Natural Faith of the True Wise Man*

- 1 I believe in God: Power, Intellect, Love,¹
one immense life, truth, goodness,
prime being, king of beings, and creator.
- He is not part nor whole, inscribed or extended,

1. As the author wrote in his *Poetics*, modern poets have counterfeited virtue with their pernicious lies, and prettified their vices by clothing them in verse. He exhorts the poets to return to ancient poetry. Because they think that fables deserve to be sung in admiration, he says that the works of Nature are more admirable. Here he condemns Aristotle, who made the fable essential to the poet: the fable should be invented only when there is a fear of speaking the truth against tyrants, as Nathan spoke in fables to David; or—for those who do not want to deal with the truth—burlesque or marvelous fables within the bounds of good taste are proposed; or for those who cannot understand the truth, one should speak in

thick parables, like were used by Aesop, Socrates, and most importantly the sacred Gospels. Thus the author praises only the fable that does not falsify history (as Virgil did in making his Dido very ugly), that warns the people to shun vices (their own and others'), and that kindles virtue in them. This is why this last verse in its first draft read: “E fa le genti di virtù infiammarsi” (makes the people enflamed to virtue).

* He proposes in this song what he believes using a metaphysical syllogism of God and of His works in nature and art; and in order to clarify it, all of his metaphysics is needed.

1. Essential predicates of God, noted in his metaphysics.

5 ma più somiglia al tutto: ond'ogni cosa
partecipò virtute, amore e senso.²

 Né pria, né poi, né fuor, l'alma pensosa
(chè 'n vigor, tempo e luogo Egli è infinito)
può andar, se in qualche fin falso non posa.³

10 Da lui, per lui e 'n lui vien stabilito
lo smisurato spazio e gli enti sui;⁴
al cui far del niente si è servito.

 Ché l'unità e l'essenza vien da lui;
ma il numero, e che questo non sia quello,
15 da quel, che pria non fummo, restò in nui.⁵

 Lo abborrito niente fa il düello,
il mal, le colpe, le pene e le morti.
Poi ci ravviva il divino suggello,
participabil d'infinite sorti,
20 necessitate, fato ed armonia
Dio influendo, che su' idea trasporti.⁶

 Quando ogni cosa fatta ogn'altra sia,
cesserà tal divario, incominciato
quando di nulla unquanche nulla uscì;⁷
25 di voglia e senno eterno destinato,
che in meglio o in peggio non pòn far mutanza,
sendo esso sempre morte a qualche stato.⁸

 Prepose il minor bene a quel ch'avanza,
e la seconda legge alla primera,
30 chi die' al peccato origine ed usanza.⁹

2. Simiglianza e dissimiglianza sua col tutto.

3. Infinità di tempo, di luogo e di vigore in Dio.

4. Come gli enti sono nello spazio, base dell'essere, così questa in Dio.

5. Perché le cose non sono infinite, ma mancano da Dio, partecipano il non essere e la divisione; donde nasce il numero e la contrarietà, e da questa i peccati e le pene naturali, e poi morali; perché l'anima cede al contrasto contra la legge.

6. Morendo le cose, rinascon altre secondo l'idea che, con li strumenti universali di Dio, fato, armonia e necessità, si imprime sempre in ogni materia; talché ci è trasmutazione e non morte.

7. Si finirà il mondo e sue trasmutazioni, quando ogni cosa sarà fatta ogni cosa; e cominciò, quando di nulla cosa ancora era stata fatta nulla cosa. Vedi la *Metafisica*.

8. La volontà e sapienza divina non può mutarsi: perché ogni mutamento è qualche morte della cosa che si muta, o in meglio o in peggio.

9. Che cosa originò il peccato.

5 but He resembles more the whole: whence every thing
shared virtue, love, and sense.²

Neither before, nor after, nor outside of Him can the thoughtful soul
go, if it does not dwell on some false end
(for in vigor, time, and place He is infinite).³

10 By Him, for Him, and in Him is established
the immeasurable space and His beings;⁴
for which He availed Himself of nothing.

So unity and essence comes from Him;
but number and difference among things,
15 which unlike before, was left to us from that nothingness.⁵

That abhorred nothingness causes dualities,
evil, faults, punishments, and deaths.
Then the divine seal revives us,
sharing in infinite destinies,
20 necessity, fate, and harmony,
which God influences, so that His idea is rendered.⁶

When every created thing becomes every other,
that gap will close that began
when from nothing, nothing yet came forth,⁷
25 destined by will and eternal intellect,
which for better or worse cannot change,
being that change is always the death of some state.⁸

The one who gave origin and practice to sin,
put the lesser good before that which is left,
30 and the second law before the first.⁹

2. His similarities with and dissimilarities
from the whole.

3. Infinity of time, place, and vigor
in God.

4. As beings are in space, the basis of
being, so this basis is in God.

5. Because things are not infinite, but are
lacking with respect to God, nonbeing and
division exist; whence number and contrari-
ety is born, and from contrariety come sins
and natural punishments, and also morals;
because the soul yields to opposition against
the law.

6. When things die, others are reborn,
according to the idea that is always im-
pressed into every matter with the universal
instruments of God: fate, harmony, and
necessity; so that there is transmutation and
not death.

7. The world and its transmutations will
end when every thing will be made every
other thing; and it began when out of noth-
ing, nothing had yet been made any thing.
See the *Metaphysics*.

8. The divine wisdom and will cannot
change because every change is some death
in the thing that changes, either for better or
for worse.

9. What originated sin.

Poter peccare è impotenza vera.
Peccato atto non è: vien dal nientè;
mancanza o abuso è di bontà sincera.¹⁰

Vero potere eminenza è dell'ente:
35 atto è diffusion d'esser, che farsi
fuor della prima essenza non consente.¹¹

Necessità amorosa sol trovarsi
nel voler credo: ma di violenta
l'azioni e passion non distrigarsi.¹²

40 La pena a' figli da' padri si avventa,
la colpa no, se da voglia taccagna
imitata non è, poiché argomenta;
ma dalla prole a' padri torna e stagna,
chi ben generar non fan disegno
45 e trascurâro educazion sì magna.

Ma colpa e pena alla patria ed al regno,
che di tempo e di luogo non provvede
e di persone, che fan germe degno.¹³

Perché dell'altrui pene ognuno è erede,
50 non lo condanna ignoranza o impotenza,
ma voglia mal oprante in quel che crede.¹⁴

Dall'ingannati torna la sentenza
agl'ingannanti, che 'l Padre occultârò
a la fanciulla ancor nostra semenza.¹⁵

10. Poter peccare è impotenza, e il peccato è difetto, non effetto, e abuso del bene.

11. Il potere è primalità in metafisica, e l'atto è diffusion dell'essere: che pur fuor di Dio, né senza Dio non può farsi, come si fa il peccato.

12. Necessità spontanea è nel volere: ma nell'oprar si truova anche violenta, e più nel patire. Sol la volontà dunque è libera, perché da Dio solo è mossa con soavità.

13. Il padre deve portar la colpa e la pena del figlio peccante per suo difetto, ché mal lo generò o mal l'allevò: ma il figlio, non la colpa, ma la pena solo dal padre trae. E la patria, che ha più senno, è obbligata ad ambedue mali, che non provvede alla generazione ed educazione, secondo scrisse

l'autore nel libro detto *La città del sole* e negli *Aforismi politici*.

14. Nullo è condannato per non potere fare o per non sapere la vera fede, ma solo per non osservare quello che sa o vede esser vero doversi osservare.

15. Gli eresiarchi ingannatori patiranno la pena dell'ingannati; ma questi son salvi, se non possono da sé arrivar al vero, né son persuasi da chi lo sa ragionevolmente, e son pronti alla verità persuasa.

Power to sin is true impotency.
Sin is not an act: it comes from nothingness;
it is the lack or abuse of sincere goodness.¹⁰

True power is eminence of the Being:
35 act is the diffusion of being, which does not consent
to establish itself outside the prime essence.¹¹

Necessity prompted by love is found only
in will, I believe: but it is violent when
actions and passions are not separable.¹²

40 Suffering falls to children from their parents,
but not the blame, if out of weak will
they do not imitate them, since children can reason;
but from children to parents it returns and stagnates,
since parents do not set an example to raise them well
45 and overlooked their upbringing, which is so important.

But blame and punishment fall to the country and kingdom
that does not ensure that the time, place, and person
of the parents provide a worthy seed.¹³

Because everyone is heir to others' punishments,
50 ignorance or impotence does not condemn him,
but rather only the will to carry out evilly what one believes.¹⁴

From the deceived, the judgment reflects back
on the deceivers, who hid the Father
and our origin from the maiden.¹⁵

10. Power to sin is impotence, and sin is a defect, not an effect, and an abuse of good.

11. Power is primality in metaphysics, and the act is diffusion of being. Neither outside God nor without God can it make itself, as sin does.

12. Necessity is spontaneous in the will. But in carrying out action one finds that necessity is also violent, and more so when suffering is involved. Only the will is thus free because only it is moved by God with tenderness.

13. The parent must bear the guilt and the punishment of the sinning child's defect, for the parent generated or raised the child poorly: but the child gets from the parent only the punishment and not the guilt. And society, which has more intellect, is

blamed for both evils because it provides for neither the child's generation nor education, according to what the author wrote in his book called *The City of the Sun* and in the *Political Aphorisms*.

14. No one is condemned for not being able to have or for not knowing the true faith, but only for not observing what one knows or sees to be true through observation.

15. The heretical deceivers will suffer the punishment of the deceived; but these are saved if they are ready to be persuaded to the truth, but cannot arrive at it by themselves or are not persuaded by one who reasonably knows.

55 Bisogno e volontà, non senso raro
 mirando, spesso rispose il pio Padre
 là dove e come i figli l'invocârò.¹⁶
 Talché, barbare genti [ed idolatre],
 se operaste giustizia naturale,
 60 non siete esenti dalle sante squadre.¹⁷
 Vivo, e non morto, un padre universale,
 non parzïal, né fatto esser Dio mai,
 a chi s'annunzia più scusa non vale.¹⁸
 Al che aspettato e' venne in tanti guai,
 65 commosso dagli nostri errori e danni,
 come per tutte istorie ritrovai,¹⁹
 contra sofisti, ipocriti e tiranni,
 di tre dive eminenze falsatori,
 a troncar la radice degli inganni.²⁰
 70 Voi falsi sempre sol, commentatori,
 additaste per "tata" alli bambini
 voi stessi e li serpenti e statue e tori.²¹
 Poi contra i sensi proprii a' peregrini
 non bastò dir che la saetta vola,
 75 ma che sia uccello, e Dio gli enti divini.
 Perdè la Bibbia la mosaica scuola
 al tempo d'Esdra

.....²²

16. Dio rispose nelli oracoli a chi l'invocò con buon zelo, ignorando che quelli eran de' demoni, e spesso a chi lo sapea; ma peroché vide esser necessario così al governo di qualche imperio o persona. Così pur dice san Tommaso, 2, 2, questione 140.

17. A chi osserva la legge di natura, ignorando quella della grazia, non si nega il paradiso.

18. A chi s'annunzia il vero Dio con ragione, non resta più scusa d'ignoranza, né di non pigliar i sacramenti.

19. Venne Dio ad incarnarsi e insegnarci la verità, come fu il desiderio di tutti gli uomini; e questo si truova in Platone e Cicerone, nonché ne' profeti e sibille.

20. Sofisti contra la sapienza, ipocriti contra la bontà, tiranni contra la potenza, principi metafisicali, s'armârò; e le falsificârò, fingendosi di quelle ornati.

21. Li commentatori fecero le eresie; e alli uomini, che cercavano qual è il padre Dio, altri dissero che Dio era il serpente, altri la statua, altri il vitello, altri se stesso, e gli fecero idolatrare; e poi fecero gli dèi metaforici dèi veri.

22. Qui manca, ed era scritto come si fece l'adulterazione della Bibbia e del Vangelo per li eresiarchi con sofismi; e poi soggiunge che ogni legge d'altri legislatori arrivò ad aver farisei, saducei . . .

55 The pious Father often answered
whenever His children invoked Him,¹⁶
according to need and will, not intending any strange meanings.

 Thus, barbarous [and idolatrous] people,
if you worked according to natural justice,
60 you are not absent from the holy ranks.¹⁷

 A father, living not dead, universal
not partial, nor a God Who was ever made;
to whomever this is announced, no excuse is still valid.¹⁸

 Thus anticipated and moved by our errors and shortfalls,
65 as I found in all the histories,
He came into so many troubles,¹⁹

 against the sophists, hypocrites, and tyrants,
the falsifiers of the three divine eminences,
to pull out the root of the deceptions.²⁰

70 You alone, commentators, are always false,
who pointed out to the babes that “papa”
is yourselves, serpents, statues, and bulls.²¹

 Then to the pilgrims it was not enough to say
that the arrow flies, but rather—contrary to their
75 proper meanings—that it is a bird and that divine beings are God.

 The Mosaic school lost the Bible
in the time of Esdras

.....²²

16. God answered in oracles those who invoked Him with righteous zeal, ignoring that they were demons, and often answered those who already knew it; but He did so because He saw it was necessary to some empire or person. St. Thomas also said so, *Secunda secundae*, question 140.

17. Paradise is not denied to the one who observes the law of nature, but ignores that of grace.

18. To whomever is announced the true God with reason there remains no excuse for ignorance, nor for not taking the sacraments.

19. God came to be incarnated and to teach us the truth, as was the desire of all men; and one finds this in Plato and Cicero, not to mention in the prophets and the sibyls.

20. Sophists took up arms against wisdom, hypocrites against goodness, tyrants against power; and they falsified these three metaphysical principles, pretending to be adorned with them.

21. Commentators made the heresies; and to the men who sought to know who God the father is, some said that God was a serpent, others a statue, others a calf; others themselves, and made the people idolize them; and then made the metaphorical gods true gods.

22. Here is missing what was written on how the Bible and the Gospels were adulterated by the heretics with sophisms; and then he adds that every law of other legislators came to the point of having Pharisees, Sadducees . . .

I proprii Farisei Cinghi sortio,
 80 Amida i bongi di Chami e Fatoche,
 l'altro emisfero in empietà finìo.
 Utili a tutti, chiare leggi e poche²³
 per l'arte abbandonâro: la Natura,
 perché nel primo seggio le rivoche,
 85 delle scienze ognun vuol ch'abbia cura;²⁴
 non le condanna con le false sètte,
 ch'abborriscon la luce e la misura.
 Ammira il sol, le stelle e cose elette
 per statue di Dio vive e cortigiani:
 90 adora un solo Dio, ch'un sempre stette.²⁵
 Scuola alza e regno a Dio da questi vani:
 servir a Dio, in comunità vivendo,
 è proprio libertà di spirti umani.²⁶
 La santa Chiesa, il Primo Senno avendo
 95 per maestro, e 'l libro che Dio scrisse, quando
 compose il mondo, i suoi concetti aprendo,²⁷
 sette sigilli or or disigillando,
 chiamerà tutto l'universo insieme
 al tempio vivo dove va rotando.²⁸
 100 Né a Dio, né al tutto, male al mondo preme,
 ma sì alle parti, donde egli è diverso;
 ma ride al tutto la parte che geme.²⁹
 Ogni cosa è immortale in qualche verso;
 sol l'alme vanno d'uno in altro mondo,

23. Condizioni delle vere leggi, e come si guastano, mentre la natura all'artepongono.

24. Contra la legge di Macone, che abborrisce le scienze naturali, perché la sua falsità non si scuopra.

25. La natural legge ammira il cielo e le stelle come divine, ma un solo Dio vero conosce.

26. Fa scuola a Dio, e non alli uomini; ama il vivere in comunità, e questa esser la vera libertà, secondo la *Città del sole*.

27. La scuola della Natura ha il Primo Senno per maestro e per libro il mondo, dove Dio scrisse vivamente i suoi concetti.

28. Aspetta la rivelazione della verità, qual sia la vera legge, quando si farà universal concilio, ed una fede ed un pastore.

29. Il male non è essenziale, perch'a Dio e al mondo non è, ma solo alli particolari. Il caldo è male al freddo, non al mondo, a cui pur serve la morte continua delle parti, come a l'animale quella del cibo.

Genghis chased out his own Pharisees,
 80 Amida the bongi of Kami and Fotoques,
 the other hemisphere ended in impiety.
 They abandoned for art
 a few clear laws, useful to all.²³
 Nature, in order to call them back to the place of honor,
 85 wants each one to attend to the sciences;
 it does not condemn them with the false sects
 that abhor light and measure.²⁴
 She admires the sun, the stars and chosen things
 as the living and courtly statues of God:
 90 and adores a single God, who was always one.²⁵
 She raises a school and kingdom up to God from here
 to serve God, living in community;
 this is the true liberty of human spirits.²⁶
 The Holy Church, having the Prime Intellect
 95 as teacher and the book that God wrote when
 He composed the world, opening His concepts,²⁷
 breaking now the seven seals,
 will call all the universe together
 in the living temple where it goes circling.²⁸
 100 Evil in the world affects neither God nor the whole,
 but only the parts, where it is different;
 but the part that laughs at the whole will groan.²⁹
 Everything is immortal in some regard;
 only souls go from one world to another,

23. Conditions of the true laws and how they are ruined when they place nature after art.

24. Against the law of Mohammed who abolished the natural sciences in order that his falsity would not be discovered.

25. Natural law considers the sky and stars as divine, but knows only the one true God.

26. Nature makes a school dedicated to God, not to men; she loves living in community and this is true liberty, according to the *City of the Sun*.

27. The school of nature has the Prime Intellect as teacher and for its book, the world, where God in life wrote all His concepts.

28. Nature awaits the revelation of the truth, which is the true law, when a universal council will be made with one faith and one pastor.

29. Evil is not essential because it is not so to God nor to the world, but only to its particulars. Heat is evil to cold, but not to the world, to which continual death to its parts is useful, like food is to the animal.

105 secondo i meriti, più opaco o più terso,³⁰
finito in questo ognuna il proprio tondo,
u' gli spiriti sciolti han le lor vie
che portan del fatal ordine il pondo,
ed il giudicio aspettan del gran die.³¹

4 Del mondo e sue parti¹

1 Il mondo è un animal grande e perfetto,
statua di Dio, che Dio lauda e simiglia:
noi siam vermi imperfetti e vil famiglia,
ch'intra il suo ventre abbiám vita e ricetta.
5 Se ignoriamo il suo amor e 'l suo intelletto,
né il verme del mio ventre s'assottiglia
a saper me, ma a farmi mal s'appiglia:
dunque bisogna andar con gran rispetto.
Siam poi alla terra, ch'è un grande animale
10 dentro al massimo, noi come pidocchi
al corpo nostro, e però ci fan male.
Superba gente, meco alzate gli occhi
e misurate quanto ogn'ente vale:
quinci imparate che parte a voi tocchi.

30. Tutte le cose sono immortali in idea e universalità e per successione. L'anime non muoiono, ma cambiano paese, o al Cielo ovvero all'inferno.

31. Tocca agli angeli guidar l'anime, e son parti eminenti del fato divino; e l'anime aspettan il giudizio universale, come argomenta Atenagora, per ragion di provvidenza e di giustizia.

1. In questo sonetto dichiara che l'uomo sia, come il verme nel nostro ventre, dentro il ventre del mondo; e alla terra, come i pidocchi alla nostra testa; e però non conosciamo che 'l mondo ha anima ed amore, come i vermi e gli pidocchi non conoscono per la piccolezza loro il nostro animo e senso; e però ci fan male senza rispetto. Però ammonisce gli uomini ch'e' vivano con rispetto dentro il mondo, e riconoscano il Senno universale e la propria bassezza, e non si tengano tanto superbi, sapendo quanto piccolezze bestiuole e' sono.

105 secondo i meriti, più opaco o più terso,³⁰
finito in questo ognuna il proprio tondo,
u' gli spiriti sciolti han le lor vie
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105 according to their merits, darker or clearer,³⁰
once each one finishes his cycle in this world,
where the loosed spirits have their ways
that bear the weight of the fatal order,
and await judgment on the great day.³¹

4 On the World and Its Parts¹

1 The world is a great and perfect animal,
statue of God, which praises and resembles God:
we are a family of tapeworms, imperfect and vile,
who have, within His belly, life and shelter.
5 We are ignorant of His love and His intellect,
just as the tapeworm in my belly does not waste itself away
in order to know me, but clings to do me evil:
thus we should proceed with great consideration.
We are, then, to the earth, which is a great animal,
10 within the greatest one, like the lice
on our own body, and so they hurt us.
Haughty people, lift up your eyes with me
and measure how much every being is worth:
then you will learn what part is left to you.

30. All things are immortal in idea and universality and by succession. Souls do not die, but they change place, going either to Heaven or to Hell.

31. It is the angels' responsibility to guide souls, and they are eminent parts of divine Fate; and souls await the universal judgment, as Athenagoras argues by reason of providence and of justice.

1. In this sonnet he says that man is inside the belly of the world like the tapeworm in our belly; and to the earth like the lice on our head; thus we do not know that the world has a soul and love, as the tapeworms and the lice, due to their smallness, do not know our soul and feeling; and so they hurt us without any awareness. Thus he admonishes men to live in the world with this awareness, and to recognize the universal Intellect and their own lowliness, and not to regard themselves with such haughtiness, knowing what small beasts they are.

5 Anima immortale¹

- 1 Di cervel dentro un pugno io sto, e divoro
tanto, che quanti libri tiene il mondo
non sazian l'appetito mio profondo.
Quanto ho mangiato! e del digiun pur moro!
- 5 D'un gran mondo Aristarco, e Metrodoro
di più cibommi, e più di fame abbondo;
disiando e sentendo, giro in tondo;
e quanto intendo più, tanto più ignoro.
- Dunque immagin sono io del Padre immenso,
10 che gli enti, come il mar li pesci, cinge,
e sol è oggetto dell'amante senso;
cui il sillogismo è stral, che al segno attinge;
l'autorità è man d'altri; donde penso
sol certo e lieto chi s'illuia e incinge.

6 Modo di filosofare¹

- 1 Il mondo è il libro dove il Senno eterno
scrisse i propri concetti, e vivo tempio
dove, pingendo i gesti e 'l proprio esempio,

1. In questo sonetto parla l'anima, e riconosce se stessa immortale e infinita, per non saziarsi mai di sapere e volere, onde conosce non dalli elementi, ma da Dio infinito essa procedere; a cui s'arriva col sillogismo, come per strale allo scopo, perché dal simile effetto alla causa si va lontanamente; s'arriva con l'autorità, come per mano d'altri si tocca un oggetto, ancora che questo sapere sia lontano e di poco gusto. Ma solo chi s'illuia, cioè chi si fa lui, cioè Dio, e chi s'incinge, cioè s'impregna di Dio, vien certo della divinità e lieto conoscitore e beato: perché è penetrante e penetrato da quella. "Illuiare" e "incingersi" son vocaboli di Dante, mirabili a questo proposito.

1. In questo sonetto mostra che 'l mondo è libro e tempio di Dio, e che in lui si deve leggere l'arte divina e imparare a vivere in privato e 'n pubblico e indirizzare ogni azione al Fattor del tutto; e non studiare i libri e tempii morti delli uomini, ch'anteponghiamo al divino empivamente, e ci avviliamo l'animo, e cadiamo in errori e dolori e pene, le quali ormai dovrebbero farci tornar all'original libro della natura, e lasciar le sette vane e le guerre grammaticali e corporali. E di ciò scrisse nel libro *Contra macchiavellisti*.

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10 che gli enti, come il mar li pesci, cinge,
e sol è oggetto dell'amante senso;
cui il sillogismo è stral, che al segno attinge;
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5 Immortal Soul¹

- 1 Within a fist of the brain I dwell and I devour
so much that all the books that the world contains
could not satiate my profound appetite.
I have eaten so much! and still I starve to death!
- 5 On the vast world of Aristarchus and Metrodorus,
and on many others I feed and still I hunger plenty;
desiring and sampling, I wander about
and the more I understand, the more I do not know.
- So I am the image of the immense Father,
10 who girds the beings as the sea the fish,
and alone is the object of His loving sense.
- Whence the syllogism is an arrow that hits the target;
the authority is the hand of others; from which, I think,
only he who becomes Him and is born in Him is certain and blessed.

6 The Way to Philosophize¹

- 1 The world is the book in which the eternal Intellect
wrote His concepts, and a living temple
where, painting the exploits and His own example,

1. In this sonnet the soul speaks and recognizes itself as immortal and infinite because its hunger to know and want is never satisfied. Thus the soul understands that it does not come from the elements, but from the infinite God. One arrives at the conclusion that the soul comes from the elements by a syllogism, as an arrow arrives at the target, because in reasoning from a similar effect to the cause one goes far off the mark. One can also arrive at the conclusion by dint of authority, as by the hand of others one touches an object, although this way of knowing may be distant and without much sense. But only he who *s'illumina*, that is, he who makes himself Him, and who *s'incinge*, that is, he who is impregnated by God, becomes certain of the divinity and is

a happy and blessed knower: because he is penetrating and penetrated by that divinity. *Illuiare* and *incingersi* are Dante's terms, and admirable in this regard.

1. In this sonnet he shows that the world is the book and temple of God, and in this world one must read the divine art and learn how to live in private and in public and to direct every action to the Maker of all. One must not study the books and the dead temples of man, which we put before the divine. We poison our souls and fall into errors, griefs, and pains, which should, by now, make us return to the original book of nature and leave behind the vain sects and the grammatical and bodily wars. And of this he wrote in his book *Against Machiavellians*.

di statue vive ornò l'imo e 'l superno;
 5 perch'ogni spirto qui l'arte e 'l governo
 leggere e contemplar, per non farsi empio,
 debba, e dir possa: "Io l'universo adempio,
 Dio contemplando a tutte cose interno."
 Ma noi, strette alme a' libri e tempîi morti,
 10 copiati dal vivo con più errori,
 gli anteponghiamo a magistero tale.
 O pene, del fallir fatene accorti,
 liti, ignoranze, fatiche e dolori:
 deh, torniamo, per Dio, all'originale!

7 Accorgimento a tutte nazioni¹

1 Abitator del mondo, al Senno Primo
 volgete gli occhi, e voi vedrete quanto
 tirannia brutta, che veste il bel manto
 di nobiltà e valor, vi mette all'imo.
 5 Mirate poi d'ipocrisia, che primo
 fu divin culto e santità con spanto,
 l'insidie; e di sofisti poi l'incanto,
 contrari al Senno, ch'io tanto sublime.
 Contra sofisti Socrate sagace,
 10 contra tiranni venne Caton giusto,
 contra ipocriti CRISTO, eterea face.
 Ma scoprir l'empio, il falsario e l'ingiusto
 non basta, né al morir correre audace,
 se tutti al Senno non rendiamo il gusto.

1. Parla a tutte le nazioni, mostrando che la tirannia falsificò in sé il valore, la sofistica il senno, la ipocrisia la bontà. Contra sofisti nacque Socrate, contra tiranni Catone; ma Cristo Dio contra ipocriti, che sono i pessimi, disputò più che contra ogni altro: perché in questo vizio s'inchioda il primo e 'l secondo. Ma non basta ch'e' ci abbia scoperto la verità di tre vizi contrari alla

Trinità metafisicale e teologale, se non rendiamo il gusto tutti al Senno vero, ch'è la Sapienza divina incarnata, che col gusto, più che con l'orecchio, internata ci persuade. Vedi *Metafisica*.

di statue vive ornò l'imo e 'l superno;
 5 perch'ogni spirto qui l'arte e 'l governo
 leggere e contemplar, per non farsi empio,
 debba, e dir possa: "Io l'universo adempio,
 Dio contemplando a tutte cose interno."
 Ma noi, strette alme a' libri e tempîi morti,
 10 copiati dal vivo con più errori,
 gli anteponghiamo a magistero tale.
 O pene, del fallir fatene accorti,
 liti, ignoranze, fatiche e dolori:
 deh, torniamo, per Dio, all'originale!

7 Accorgimento a tutte nazioni¹

1 Abitator del mondo, al Senno Primo
 volgete gli occhi, e voi vedrete quanto
 tirannia brutta, che veste il bel manto
 di nobiltà e valor, vi mette all'imo.
 5 Mirate poi d'ipocrisia, che primo
 fu divin culto e santità con spanto,
 l'insidie; e di sofisti poi l'incanto,
 contrari al Senno, ch'io tanto sublime.
 Contra sofisti Socrate sagace,
 10 contra tiranni venne Caton giusto,
 contra ipocriti CRISTO, eterea face.
 Ma scoprir l'empio, il falsario e l'ingiusto
 non basta, né al morir correre audace,
 se tutti al Senno non rendiamo il gusto.

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He adorned with living statues the depths and the heights;
 5 so every spirit here should read and contemplate
 art and government, so as not to become impious
 and be able to say: "I fulfill the universe,
 and by contemplating God internalize all things."
 But we souls, bound to dead books and temples
 10 copied from life with many errors,
 put them before such a magisterium.
 Become aware of your failure, oh the pains,
 quarrels, ignorance, toils, and griefs:
 ah, for God's sake, let's go back to the original!

7 Warning to All Nations¹

1 Residents of the world, to the Prime Intellect
 turn your eyes, and you will see how
 ugly tyranny is, which wears the handsome mantle
 of nobility and valor, but casts you to the depths.
 5 Look then at the snares of hypocrisy, which first
 was a divine cult with pretensions of sanctity;
 and then the enchantment of sophists,
 contrary to the Intellect, which I so raise to the heights.
 Against the sophists came wise Socrates,
 10 Cato the just came against tyrants,
 against the hypocrites came CHRIST, ethereal light.
 But to reveal the impious, the counterfeiter, and the unjust
 is not enough, nor to run heedless to death,
 if we all do not surrender our pleasure to the Intellect.

1. The sonnet speaks to all the nations, demonstrating that tyranny counterfeited valor, sophistry wisdom, and hypocrisy goodness. Socrates was born to counter the sophists, Cato to counter tyranny; but the Lord Christ to counter the hypocrites, who are the worst; He spoke against them more than any other because in this vice are included the first and second ones. But it is

not enough that He revealed the truth of the three vices against the metaphysical and theological Trinity, if we do not all surrender our pleasure in perception to the true Intellect Who is the incarnate divine wisdom, and that with pleasure, more than with just the ear, this internalized wisdom, persuades us. See the *Metaphysics*.

8 Delle radici de' gran mali del mondo¹

- 1 Io nacqui a debellar tre mali estremi:
tirannide, sofismi, ipocrisia;
ond'or m'accorgo con quanta armonia
Possanza, Senno, Amor m'insegnò Temi.
- 5 Questi principi son veri e sopremi
della scoperta gran filosofia,
rimedio contra la trina bugia,
sotto cui tu, piangendo, o mondo, fremiti.
- 10 Carestie, guerre, pesti, invidia, inganno,
ingiustizia, lussuria, accidia, sdegno,
tutti a que' tre gran mali sottostanno,
che nel cieco amor proprio, figlio degno
d'ignoranza, radice e fomento hanno.
Dunque a diveller l'ignoranza io vegno.

1. Perché l'autore scrisse in *Metafisica* di tre primalità o proprincipi (ché così chiama la Potenza, la Sapienza e l'Amore); e tutti i mali del mondo pendono dalla tirannide, falsa possanza, e dalla sofistica, falsa scienza, e dall'ipocrasia, falso amore, dice che Temi con ragione gl'insegnò questa filosofia nuova. Themis è la dea della giustizia, che dava li oracoli in Grecia, secondo scrive Ovidio, e si piglia per la sapienza divina. "Trina bugia" sono qui detti tre mali oppositi alla Trinità metafisica e teologale; e son più nocivi che la impotenza, ignoranza e odio, opposti e manifesti vizi. E, perché *omnis peccans est ignorans in eo quod peccat*, secondo i filosofi e teologi; e da questa ignoranza, che par sapienza di Stato, nasce l'amor proprio, ch'è cieco, radice e fomento di tutti peccati, come dalla vera sapienza l'amor oculato, *quia ignoti nulla cupido*: però egli, svellendo l'ignoranza, fa conoscer i veri vizi e le vere virtù e a questo fine è nato ogni savio. Onde Salomone: "*In multitudine sapientium sanitas orbis terrarum.*"

8 On the Roots of the World's Great Evils¹

- 1 I was born to vanquish three extreme evils:
tyranny, sophism, and hypocrisy;
so now I realize with how much harmony
Themis taught me Power, Intellect, and Love.
- 5 These are true and supreme principles
of the great philosophy revealed,
the remedy against the triple lie,
under which you, oh world, quiver weeping.
Famines, wars, plagues, envy, deceit,
10 injustice, lust, sloth, and disdain,
all depend on these three great evils
which in blind self love have their deserving son,
the root and instigator of ignorance.
Therefore, I come to pluck out ignorance.

1. Because the author wrote in his *Metaphysics* on the three “primalities” or “proprinciples” (as he thus calls Power, Wisdom, and Love); and all of the evils of the world depend on tyranny (feigned power), on sophistry (feigned science), and on hypocrisy (feigned love), he says that Themis taught him this new philosophy with reason. Themis is the goddess of justice who spoke the oracles in Greece, according to what Ovid writes, and he takes her for divine Wisdom. The *trina bugia* (triple lie) is here said to be the three evils opposed to the metaphysical and theological Trinity; and they are more harmful than impotence, ignorance, and hate, the opposite and manifest vices. And, because *omnis peccans est ignorans in eo quod peccat*, according to the philosophers and theologians; and from this ignorance, which appears as knowledge of the State, is born self-love, which is blind, the root and instigator of all sins, as from the true wisdom discerning love, *quia ignoti nulla cupido*: thus by plucking out or uprooting ignorance, he makes known the true vices and the true virtues, and to this end every wise man was born. Whence Solomon: “*In multitudine sapientium sanitas orbis terrarum.*”

9 Contra il proprio amore scoprimento stupendo¹

- 1 Credulo il proprio amor fe' l'uom pensare
non aver gli elementi, né le stelle
(benché fusser di noi più forti e belle)
senso ed amor, ma sol per noi girare.
- 5 Poi tutte genti barbare ed ignare,
fuor che la nostra, e Dio non mirar quelle.
Poi il restringemmo a que' di nostre celle.
Sé solo alfin ognun venne ad amare.
- E, per non travagliarsi, il saper schiva;
- 10 poi, visto il mondo a' suo' voti diverso,
nega la provvidenza o che Dio viva.
- Qui stima senno l'astuzie; e perverso,
per dominar, fa nuovi dèi. Poi arriva
a predicarsi autor dell'universo.

1. Qui mostra il sonetto presente, che dal proprio amore è venuto che gli uomini hanno fatto onorare e stimarsi come dèi, cioè Giove, Ercole; e che primamente ci fa pensare che 'l cielo e le stelle non hanno senso e che sono nostri servi; cosa riprovata da lui in libro *De sensu rerum* e in *Metafisica*. E che Dio disse a Moisé che son fatti in ministerio nostro, come quando nostri servi servono anche a' nostri cavalli e cani, e però non sono inferiori ad essi. Dopo questo, fece che ogni nazione pensa che l'altre sien barbare e dannate all'inferno, e noi soli salvi; e non vede il cieco amore, che Dio è Dio di tutti. E 'n ciò son condannati assai gli Ebrei, che negan la salute a' Gentili, così detti quasi gentaglia e volgo. Poi ci fa pensare che soli noi monaci ci salviamo; e ogni città tratta da barbara l'altre vicine e a torto e a dritto cerca di dominarle. Da questo mancamento d'amor comune viene che niuno ama se non se stesso e, per farsi troppe carezze, lascia la fatica dello studio nella vera sapienza; e, vedendo le cose, a rispetto suo, andare a caso, *quia ignorantia facit casum*, si pensa che non ci sia Dio che provvede al tutto, a cui rispetto non ci è caso, *quia nihil praeter eius intentionem aut voluntatem*. Laonde viene a stimar per

Dio suo la propria astuzia macchiavellesca-mente e, quando può, si fa adorar per Dio, credendo che non ci sia il Dio vero, e ogni cosa indirizza al proprio utile, e fa idolatrar la gente.

9 Stupendous Discovery Against Self-Love¹

- 1 Credulous self-love made man think
that neither the elements nor the stars
(although they are stronger and more beautiful than us)
have their own sense and love, but that they revolve only for us.
- 5 Then that God did not look on all the barbarous
and unenlightened people except for our own.
Later we narrowed His attention to only those who share our
monastery cells.
In the end, each one came to love only himself.
And in order not to overexert himself, he shuns knowledge;
- 10 then, seeing the world differ from his own vows,
he denies providence or that God lives.

Here man regards wisdom as shrewdness; and the perverse one, in order to dominate, makes new gods. Then he comes to preach himself the author of the universe.

1. The present sonnet shows that from self love it has come about that men have honored themselves and regarded themselves as gods, that is Jupiter and Hercules; and that above all else self love makes us think that the heavens and the stars do not have their own sense or purpose, but that they are our servants; a thing disproved by the author in his book *On the Sense of Things* and in *Metaphysics*. God said to Moses that the heavens and stars were made for our dominion, as when our servants also serve our horses and dogs, but the servants are not inferior to them. After this, man made each nation think that the others were barbarous and condemned to hell, and that we alone were saved; and blind love does not see that God is the God of all. For this reason the Hebrews, who deny salvation to the Gentiles, are much condemned. Thus they are said to be almost rabble and base people. Then blind love makes us think that only we monks will save ourselves. Every city considers the surrounding ones to be barbarous and, for better or for worse, tries to dominate them. From this lack of common love comes the notion that no one loves anyone except himself, and he abandons the

toil of the study of true wisdom, in order to indulge himself with too much pampering; and seeing the things, from his perspective, to go randomly, *quia ignorantia facit casum*, he thinks that there is no God Who oversees all, in Whose perspective there is nothing random, *quia nihil praeter eius intentionem aut voluntatem*. Therefore, man comes to regard his God as his own Machiavellian shrewdness and, when he can, he makes himself worshipped as a God, believing that there is no true God, and man uses everything for his own purposes, and makes the people idolize him.

10 Parallelo del proprio e comune amore¹

- 1 Questo amor singolar fa l'uomo inerte,
ma a forza, s'e' vuol vivere, si finge
saggio, buon, valoroso: talché in sfinge
se stesso annicchilando alfin converte
- 5 (pene di onor, di voci e d'or covertel!).
Poi gelosia nell'altrui virtù pinge
i proprii biasmi, e lo sferza e lo spinge
ad ingiurie e rovine e pene aperte.
- Ma chi all'amor del comun Padre ascende,
- 10 tutti gli uomini stima per fratelli
e con Dio di lor beni gioie prende.
- Tu, buon Francesco, i pesci anche e gli uccelli
frati appelli (oh beato chi ciò intende!);
né ti fûr, come a noi, schifi e rubelli.

1. Questo sonetto ci avvisa che l'amore proprio ci fa schifar la fatica, e però divengiamo inabili. E poi, perché ci amiamo troppo, vedendo che le virtù son quelle che conserva l'uomo, ci fingiamo almeno virtuosi; e questo fingersi quel che non siamo, è un annicchilamento di quel che siamo, assai penoso. Ma questa pensa è coverta d'onori falsi, d'adulazione e da ricchezze di fortuna, ne' principi più che in altri. Dopo, conoscendo essi che gli veri virtuosi son come testimoni della falsa virtù loro, entrano in gelosia di Stato, e vengono ad uccider e ingiuriar le genti buone, e insidiarle, e rovinare quelle e sé e la Repubblica. All'incontro, l'amor universale vero, divino, stima più il mondo che la sua nazione, e più la patria che se stesso: tutti tiene per fratelli, gode del ben d'altri, vi cessa la penosa invidia e gelosia; e così viene a goder d'ogni bene come del proprio, a far bene a tutti ed esser poi signor di tutti per amore e innocenza, non per forza. E porta l'esempio di san Francesco, che chiamava i pesci e gli uccelli fratelli suoi, e gli liberava quando erano presi; onde arrivò a tanta innocenza, che l'ubbidivano gli animali. Così a san Biagio e altri santi; e così sarebbe stato nel secolo d'oro, se Adamo non peccava.

10 Parallel between Self- and Communal Love¹

- 1 This self-love makes man inert,
but inevitably, if he wants to live, he pretends
to be wise, good, and valorous: so that, finally,
destroying himself he converts into a sphinx
5 (pains hidden under honor, praise, and gold!).
Due to jealousy of others' virtue he disguises his own faults,
and it whips him and pushes him
to insults and ruins and exposed pains.
But he who ascends to the love of the common Father,
10 esteems all men as brothers
and with God takes joy in their successes.
You, good Francis, called the fish and also the birds
your brothers (oh blessed be the one who understands!);
nor were they for you as they are for us disgusting and rebellious.

1. This sonnet warns us that self-love makes us loathe toil, and thus we become incapable. Furthermore, seeing that virtues are what man holds dear, we pretend at least to be virtuous because we love ourselves too much; and this pretending to be what we are not is an annihilation of that which we are, and so very pitiful. But this sorrow is masked by false honors, adulation, and the riches of fortune, in princes more than it is in others. Then, knowing that the true virtuous men are like witnesses to their counterfeited virtue, the princes enter into a jealousy of State, and they come to kill and slander good people, and deceive and ruin those good people, themselves, and the Republic. On the other hand, true, universal, and divine love esteems the world more than its nations and the society more than oneself. Divine love regards all as brothers, takes pleasure in the successes of others, and ends pitiful envy and jealousy. In this way, the man who loves divinely comes to enjoy all successes as his own, to do good to all others, and then to be a lord of others through love and innocence, not by force. He presents the example of St. Francis, who called the fish and the birds his brothers, and liberated them when they were caught;

whence he came to such innocence that the animals obeyed him. Thus it was for St. Biagio and other saints; and so it would have been in the Golden Age if Adam had not sinned.

11 Cagione, perché meno si ama Dio,
Sommo Bene, che gli altri beni, è l'ignoranza¹

- 1 Se Dio ci dà la vita, e la conserva,
ed ogni nostro ben da lui dipende,
ond'è ch'amor divin l'uom non accende,
ma più la ninfa e 'l suo signor osserva?
- 5 Che l'ignoranza misera e proterva,
chi s'usurpa il divin, per virtù vende;
ed a cosa ignorata amor non tende,
ma bassa l'ale e fa l'anima serva.
- Qui, se n'inganna poi e toglie sostanza
- 10 per darla altrui, ne' vili ancor soggetti
ci mostra i rai del Ben, che tutti avanza.
- Ma noi l'inganno, il danno (ahi, maledetti!)
di lui abbracciamo, e non l'alta speranza
de' frutti e 'l senso degli eterni oggetti.

1. In questo sonetto dichiara che l'ignoranza, predicata per bontà da' falsi religiosi, è causa di non conoscer Dio né amarlo (*quia "ignoti nulla cupido"*) più che gli beni umani e vili. Dove amor bassa l'ale e fa l'anima schiava di cose frali; e pure in questi oggetti frali ci inganna, ché ci toglie la sostanza e 'l seme per generar altri: onde dicono i Platonici: "*subdola Venus non providet natis, sed nascituris; ideo aufert ab illis substantiam, ut det his.*" E pur in questo amor basso carnale Dio ci mostra gli suoi raggi, ch'è la bellezza, detta "fior della bontà divina," che ci leva di sembianza in sembianza a cognoscer il Sommo Bene. Ma noi, stolti, più presto attendiamo al danno e l'inganno che ci fa amore, che alla speranza delli oggetti eterni, che ci porge la beltà; e, come le bestie, non pensiamo all'immortalità, dove tende amore, ma al gusto, che ci fa languidi, ci toglie gli spiriti, ci ammala e consuma, non sapendo ch'è un presaggio del gusto vero ed éscia per poterci ingannare; per la qual cosa ci mugne Dio amore a far un cacio di nuovo uomo: "*Sicut lac mulsisti me*" dice Iob.

11 The Reason Why Loving God, Supreme Good, Less than Other Goods is Ignorance¹

- 1 If God gives us life and preserves it
and every good of ours depends on Him,
why is it that man is not kindled to divine love,
but still attends to his beloved and her lord?
- 5 One who usurps the divine sells
a wretched and arrogant ignorance for virtue.
Love does not aim to an unknown thing,
but lowers its wing and makes our soul servile.
- Here, though love deceives us and takes our substance
- 10 to give to another; yet even in our base subjugation
it shows us the rays of the Good, which surpasses all.
- But we embrace the deception and ruin (oh, accursed ones!)
of it and not the lofty hope of the fruits
and the sense of the eternal objects.

1. In this sonnet he declares that ignorance, preached as goodness by the false religious, is the cause for not knowing nor loving God more than vile, human goods (*quia "ignoti nulla cupido"*). Where love lowers its wings it makes the soul slave to frail things; and even in these frail objects it deceives us, because this love takes from us the substance and the seed to generate other loves: whence the Platonists say: "*subdola Venus non providet natis, sed nascituris; ideo aufert ab illis substantiam, ut det his.*" But even in this lowly carnal love, God shows us His rays, which is beauty, said to be "the flower of divine goodness," which raises us from semblance to semblance to know the Supreme Good. But we, fools, more readily devote ourselves to the ruin and deception that love makes for us, than to the hope of eternal objects that beauty offers us; and, like the beasts, we do not think of immortality, where love inclines, but of pleasure, which makes us languid, takes away our spirits, and sickens and consumes us, not knowing that this is only a foretaste of the true pleasure and bait that can deceive us; for which thing God coagulates us with love

in order to make a new cheese of man. "*Sicut lac mulsisti me,*" says Job.

12 Fortuna de' savi¹

- 1 Gran fortuna è 'l saper, possesso grande
più dell'aver; né i savi ha sventurati
l'esser di vil progenie e patria nati:
per illustrarle son sorti ammirande.
- 5 Hanno i guai per ventura, che più spande
lor nome e gloria; e l'esser ammazzati
gli fa che sien per santi e dèi adorati,
ed allegrezza han da contrarie bande:
ché le gioie e le noie a lor son spasso,
- 10 come all'amante pare il gaudio e 'l lutto
per la sua ninfa: e qui a pensar vi lasso.
Ma il sciocco i ben pur crucciano, e più brutto
nobiltà il rende, ed ogni tristo passo
suo sventurato fuoco smorza in tutto.

13 Senno senza forza de' savi delle genti antiche esser soggetto alla forza de' pazzi¹

- 1 Gli astrologi, antevista in un paese
costellazion che gli uomini impazzire
far dovea, consigliârsi di fuggire,
per regger sani poi le genti offese.
- 5 Tornando poscia a far le regie imprese,
consigliavan que' pazzi con bel dire
il viver prisco, il buon cibo e vestire.
Ma ognun con calci e pugni a lor contese.
Talché, sforzati i savi a viver come

1. Non esser vero che gli savi sono sventurati. Anzi, tutte le sventure essere a loro venture, e le noie e le gioie ben loro. Ma gli ignoranti dalle sventure subito son disfatti, e dalle venture più infelici diventano, e più mostrano la loro stoltizia e dappocaggine in ogni evento.

1. Parabola mirabile per intendere come il mondo diventò pazzo per lo peccato, e che gli savi, pensando sanarlo, furon forzati a dire e fare e vivere come gli pazzi, se ben nel lor segreto hanno altro avviso.

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12 Fortune of the Wise¹

1 Great fortune is knowledge, a greater possession
than holdings; nor has birth to ignoble progeny
or country disgraced wise ones:
their admirable destinies illustrate as much.

5 They take troubles as occasion to spread
their name and glory; and being murdered
makes them adored as saints or gods;
they know happiness in contrary circumstances.

Both joys and troubles flow smoothly for them,
10 like the lover's thrills and griefs for the beloved;
and here I leave you to reflect.

But even good things distress the fool, and nobility
renders him even uglier, and his every wicked step
entirely smothers his wretched fire.

13 Unarmed Intellect in Ancient Wise Men Was Subjected to the Arms of Madmen¹

1 Astrologers, having foreseen in a country
a constellation that was to drive men mad,
decided to flee in order later
to rule sanely the afflicted people.

5 Returning then to carry out their leadership,
they advised those mad ones through fine speech
on the proper life, good food and dress.
But each one contested them with kicks and punches.
So, the wise were forced to live

1. It is not true that wise people are unlucky. On the contrary, all misfortunes can be boons for them; both troubles and joys can be good for them. But ignorant ones are immediately defeated by misfortunes, and they become unhappier by what befalls them and display their stupidity and ineptitude even more at every turn.

1. A marvelous parable to understand how the world was driven mad by sin, and how the wise men, wanting to cure it, were forced to say, do, and live like the crazy ones, although they held another opinion secretly.

- 10 gli stolti usavan, per schifar la morte,
ché 'l più gran pazzo avea le regie some,
vissero sol col senno a chiuse porte,
in pubblico applaudendo in fatti e nome
all'altrui voglie forsennate e torte.

14 Gli uomini son giuoco di Dio e degli angeli¹

- 1 Nel teatro del mondo ammascherate
l'alme da' corpi e dagli affetti loro,
spettacolo al supremo consistoro
da natura, divina arte, apprestate,
5 fan gli atti e detti tutte a chi son nate;
di scena in scena van, di coro in coro;
si veston di letizia e di martòro,
dal comico fatal libro ordinate.
Né san, né ponno, né vogliono fare,
10 né patir altro che 'l gran Senno scrisse,
di tutte lieto, per tutte allegrare,
quando, rendendo, al fin di giuochi e risse,
le maschere alla terra, al cielo, al mare,
in Dio vedrem chi meglio fece e disse.

1. Gli corpi esser maschere dell'anime,
e che non fanno l'ufficio suo primiero, ma
artificiale, scenico, secondo il destino divino
ordinò non sempre esser re chi è vestito di
maschera regia. Ma, rendute le maschere
alli elementi, saremo ignudi e vederemo in
Dio, luce viva, chi meglio fece il debito suo;
e però tra tanto bisogna aver pacienza e
aspettare la conoscenza della comedia nel
giudizio universale.

- 10 gli stolti usavan, per schifar la morte,
ché 'l più gran pazzo avea le regie some,
vissero sol col senno a chiuse porte,
in pubblico applaudendo in fatti e nome
all'altrui voglie forsennate e torte.

14 Gli uomini son giuoco di Dio e degli angeli¹

- 1 Nel teatro del mondo ammascherate
l'alme da' corpi e dagli affetti loro,
spettacolo al supremo consistoro
da natura, divina arte, apprestate,
5 fan gli atti e detti tutte a chi son nate;
di scena in scena van, di coro in coro;
si veston di letizia e di martòro,
dal comico fatal libro ordinate.
Né san, né ponno, né vogliono fare,
10 né patir altro che 'l gran Senno scrisse,
di tutte lieto, per tutte allegrare,
quando, rendendo, al fin di giuochi e risse,
le maschere alla terra, al cielo, al mare,
in Dio vedrem chi meglio fece e disse.

1. Gli corpi esser maschere dell'anime,
e che non fanno l'ufficio suo primiero, ma
artificiale, scenico, secondo il destino divino
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Dio, luce viva, chi meglio fece il debito suo;
e però tra tanto bisogna aver pacienza e
aspettare la conoscenza della comedia nel
giudizio universale.

10 like the fools were accustomed, in order to avoid death,
because the greatest madman held the highest throne.

They lived by their intellect only behind closed doors:
in public applauding, in deeds and name,
the nonsensical and crooked wishes of those others.

14 Human Beings are the Plaything of God and the Angels¹

1 In the theater of the world, souls,
masked by bodies and by their passions,
and set in nature—divine art—
prepare a spectacle for the Supreme Consistory.

5 All are born to do their acts and lines;
they go from scene to scene, from chorus to chorus;
they dress in joy or in martyrdom
as ordained by the fated book of the Comic.

They neither know, nor are able, nor want,
10 nor suffer other than what the great Intellect wrote,
Who is delighted by all, rejoices in all;
when at the end of the games and brawls,
rendering the masks to earth, sky, and sea,
in God we will see who best did and said.

1. Bodies are the masks of souls and do not serve their primary function, but are artificial and theatrical. Accordingly, divine destiny ordained that whosoever is dressed in the royal mask is not always the king. Rather, once the masks are rendered to the elements, we will be naked and we will see in God, living light, who best played one's part; and thus, in the meantime, we must have patience and await the outcome of the comedy in the universal judgment.

17 Non è re chi ha regno, ma chi sa reggere¹

1 Chi pennelli have e colori, ed a caso
pinge, imbrattando le mura e le carte,
pittor non è; ma chi possede l'arte,
benché non abbia inchiostri, penne e vaso.

5 Né frate fan cocolle e capo raso.
Re non è dunque chi ha gran regno e parte,
ma chi tutto è Giesù, Pallade e Marte,
benché sia schiavo o figlio di bastaso.

Non nasce l'uom con la corona in testa,
10 come il re delle bestie, che han bisogno,
per lo conoscer, di tal sopravvesta.

Repubblica onde all'uom doversi espogno,
o re, che pria d'ogni virtù si vesta,
provata al sole, e non a piume e 'n sogno.

18 A Cristo, Nostro Signore¹

1 I tuo' seguaci, a chi ti crocifisse
più che a te crocifisso, simiglianti,
son oggi, o buon Giesù, del tutto erranti
da' costumi, che 'l tuo senno prescrisse.

1. Si pruova con esempi naturali non esser re chi regna, ma chi sa, può e vuole regnar bene. Pallade e Marte son la virtù militare e la prudenza umana: Giesù è la virtù e sapienza divina. E chi di queste è vòto, non è re. Se l'uomo non nasce con la corona, come il re de' pesci, dell'api e degli uccelli, questo è segno che all'uomo si convenga vivere in repubblica, perché la natura non ci dà re: ovvero che non alla vesta e corona si deve mirare e alla successione, ma alla virtù provata in azioni sante ed eroiche; e così poi deve essere eletto a re.

1. Questo è chiaro per sé, e si vede che gli seguaci di Cristo somigliano a' suoi persecutori. Dio ci provveda.

17 Non è re chi ha regno, ma chi sa reggere¹

- 1 Chi pennelli have e colori, ed a caso
pinge, imbrattando le mura e le carte,
pittor non è; ma chi possede l'arte,
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1. Questo è chiaro per sé, e si vede che gli seguaci di Cristo somigliano a' suoi persecutori. Dio ci provveda.

17 One Is Not King Who Has a Kingdom, but Rather Who Knows How to Reign¹

- 1 One who has paintbrushes and colors and paints
at random, smearing walls and paper, is not
a painter; but only the one who possesses that art,
even if he has no ink, pen, or inkpot.
- 5 Nor do cowls and a shaven head make a friar.
A king, then, is not one who has a large kingdom and following,
but is entirely Jesus, Pallas, and Mars,
though he be a slave or the son of a porter.
- Man is not born with a crown on his head
- 10 as the king of beasts who have such need
in order to be recognized by their covering.
- Thus I say people must dedicate themselves to a republic
or to a king who is cloaked with every virtue
and proven by the sun, not by feathers in a dream.

18 To Christ, Our Lord¹

- 1 Your followers, resembling the one who crucified You
more than You Crucified, are today,
oh good Jesus, erring completely
in the customs that Your intellect prescribed.

1. One can prove with natural examples that a king is not he who reigns, but rather he who knows, is able to, and wants to reign well. Pallas and Mars stand for human prudence and military virtue: Jesus is virtue and divine wisdom. And he who is without these traits is not a king. Since man is not born with a crown, like the king of fish, bees, and birds, this is a sign that it suits man to live in a republic because nature does not give us a king: that is to say that one should not aspire to the mantle, crown, and succession, but to achieve virtue through saintly and heroic actions. It is in this way that one must be elected king.

1. This is clear on its own, and one sees that the followers of Christ resemble His persecutors. Let God provide for us.

5 Lussurie, ingiurie, tradimenti e risse
van procacciando i più stimati santi;
tormenti inusitati, orrori e pianti
(tante piaghe non ha l'Apocalisse),
armi contra tuoi mal cogniti amici,
10 come son io. Tu il sai, se vedi il cuore:
mia vita e passion son pur tuo segno.
Se torni in terra, armato vien', Signore,
ch'altre croci apparécchianti i nemici,
non Turchi, non Giudei: que' del tuo regno.

21 Nel sepolcro di Cristo¹

1 Quinci impara a stupirti in infinito,
che l'Intelletto divino immortale,
perché divenga l'uom celestiale,
si sia di carne (oh santo Amor!) vestito;
5 ch'egli sia anciso da' suoi, e seppellito;
che poi sen venne a vita trionfale
e ascese in Cielo; che ciascun fia tale,
chi s'è con lui per vivo affetto unito.
Che chi muore pel caldo di ragione,
10 sofisti atterra, ipocriti e tiranni,
che vendon l'altrui mal per divozione;
che 'l giusto morto i vivi empì condanni,
or fatta legge al mondo ogni sua azione,
e egli giudice al fin degli ultimi anni.

1. Il sonetto è chiaro: desidera attenzione
e osservanza, riconoscimento e imitazione.

5 Lussurie, ingiurie, tradimenti e risse
van procacciando i più stimati santi;
tormenti inusitati, orrori e pianti
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or fatta legge al mondo ogni sua azione,
e egli giudice al fin degli ultimi anni.

1. Il sonetto è chiaro: desidera attenzione
e osservanza, riconoscimento e imitazione.

5 Lust, insults, betrayals, and brawls
 are sought by those most presumed saints;
 unusual torments, horrors, and pains
 (the Apocalypse does not have so many wounds),
 are arms against Your unrecognized friends,
 10 like I am. You know it, if You see into my heart:
 my life and suffering are also Your sign.
 If You return to earth, come armed, Lord,
 because enemies are preparing other crosses
 —not Turks, not Jews—but those of Your own kingdom.

21 In Christ's Tomb¹

1 From here learn to be infinitely astonished
 that the immortal divine Intellect
 was clothed in flesh (oh holy Love!)
 so that man may become celestial;
 5 that He was killed by His own and buried;
 that He then came to the triumphal life
 and ascended to Heaven; so that each of us who is
 united to Him by living affection might as well.
 For one who dies by the heat of reason,
 10 knocks aground sophists, hypocrites, and tyrants,
 who sell the evil of another as devotion.
 May the just dead condemn the impious living;
 may every one of His actions be made law in the world now,
 for He is the judge at the end of the final years.

1. This sonnet is clear: it deserves attention and observance, recognition and imitation.

23 Al Primo Senno

Canzone prima

MADRIGALE 1¹

- 1 Illustra, o Primo Senno, il senno mio,
tu che ispiri il sapere all'universo,
come dal Primo Amore
e dal Primo Valore
- 5 vien ogni possa e voglia: tu il mio verso
fa' di te degno e del mio gran desio.
Che se Necessitate
influsso è di Possanza
e di Amor Armonia,
- 10 da te dipende il fato e l'ordinanza.
Tu reggi amor, guidi la potestate
ed ogni ierarchia,
tu, giudice ed autor di veritate.

1. In questo primo madrigale della prima canzone fatta alla Sapienza Eterna, e' l'invoca, e la chiama "Primo Senno," donde tutto il saper degli enti deriva, perché l'autore scrisse ch'ogni cosa sente più o meno, quanto basta alla sua conservazione, come appare da' libri *De sensu rerum*. E perché nella sua *Metafisica* pone tre proprincipi dell'essere, Possanza, Senno, Amore, da' quali ogni potere e sapere e appetito viene agli enti secondi; e da questi proprincipi nasce la necessità dalla Potenza, il fato dalla Sapienza e l'armonia dall'Amore, e son chiamate "influenze magne": però col suo influsso onora la Sapienza invocata e le dice ch'essa regge Amore, perché senza lei è cieco, ed essa guida la Possanza, che senza lei non produce, ma strugge le cose. E s'è provato in *Metafisica* che queste primalità si trovan l'una nell'altra, benché procedan l'una dall'altra.

23 To the Prime Intellect

First Song

MADRIGAL 1¹

- 1 Elucidate, oh Prime Intellect, my intellect,
You who inspire the knowledge of the universe,
as from Prime Love
and from Prime Valor
- 5 comes every power and will: You make my verse
and my great desire worthy of You.
For if Necessity
is influenced by Power
and Harmony by Love,
- 10 Fate and its order depend on You.
You rule Love, and guide Power
and every hierarchy.
You, judge and author of truth.

1. In this first madrigal of the first song to Eternal Wisdom, he invokes Her and calls Wisdom the “Prime Intellect,” from Whom all knowledge of the beings derives. The author wrote that every thing feels more or less, in as much as is necessary for its preservation, according to what appears in his books *On the Sense of Things*. Because in his *Metaphysics* he distinguishes three principles of being, Power, Intellect, and Love, from which every power and knowledge and appetite comes to the secondary beings, and from these principles, necessity is born from Power, Fate from Wisdom, and Harmony from Love, and they are called the “great influences.” Thus with Wisdom’s influence, he honors invoked Wisdom and tells Her that She rules Love, because without Her, love is blind, and She guides Power, Who without Her cannot produce, but destroys things. And it is proven in the *Metaphysics* that these primalities are found in one another, though they proceed one from another.

MADRIGALE 2²

- 1 Era il Senno degli enti da principio,
 ed era appresso Dio, era Dio stesso,
 sì come era il Potere
 e l'Amor, che tre vere
- 5 preminenze dell'essere io confesso,
 degli enti tutti un interno principio,
 onde ogni parte e tutto
 puote, ed ama, e conosce
 essere ed operare;
- 10 segue le gioie e fugge dall'angosce;
 strugge il nemico, per non esser strutto,
 e 'l simil fa cercare:
 dal che fu il mondo in ordine ridotto.

MADRIGALE 3³

- 1 Autor dell'universo e di sue parti
 fu il Senno, a cui Natura è quasi figlia,

2. Mostra che 'l Senno è eterno, ed è Dio, e quel che l'Evangelo chiama "Verbo di Dio." E che 'l potere e 'l volere sono in Dio eterni e un essere, e ch'ogni ente partecipa di queste tre primalità o preminenze internamente, sia semplice o sia composto, secondo appare in *Metafisica*. Poi lo mostra dall'azioni e passioni, e simpatie e antipatie che le cose sentano. E che dal senso vien distinto il mondo. Il fuoco va in suso, perché sente il cielo amico, e fugge la terra, sentita da lui per nemica; e le cose terrestri vanno a basso; e ogni simile al suo simile, e fugge il contrario. Talché disse il vero Anassagora, che l'intelletto distingue il caos: ché, se le cose non partecipassero da lui il sentimento, tutte si fermerebbono dove sono; e non ci sarebbero moti, né azione, né passione, né generazione, senza senso di gioia e di dolore.

3. Dio, Primo Senno, mirando nelle sue idee, fece tutti gli enti. La Natura, ch'è arte divina inserita nelle cose, è figlia del Senno; e però, mirando all'idee di quello, essa fa le cose naturali. L'arte nostra, ch'è natura estrinseca, fa le cose artificiali, mirando all'idee espresse dalla Natura sua madre, insegnata dal Senno, suo avo, che fece tante arti, cioè naturali e postnaturali. Talché ogni ente naturale conosce se stesso e ama se stesso di conoscimento e amore interno e segreto, e poi ama le altre cose e le sente, in quanto sente se stesso mutato in quelle; perché il sentire é passione, secondo Aristotile e 'l Telesio. Ma Aristotile vuol che sia total informazione; Telesio poca immutazione: donde si giudica il tutto poi per sillogismo subitaneo. L'autore vuol che sia essere, e che 'l patire e l'immutarsi servano a far che la virtù conoscente sia esso oggetto, e così lo conosce e giudica. E, perché non si fa del tutto quello, però debolissima è la conoscenza nostra, corta e lontana.

MADRIGAL 2²

- 1 In the beginning there was the Intellect of the beings,
and This was with God, This was God Himself,
as He was the Power
and the Love, three true
5 preeminences of the Being I confess,
an internal principle of all the beings,
whence all beings and the whole
has power and loves and knows
to be and to do;
10 Intellect follows joys and flees from anguish;
and destroys the enemy so as not to be destroyed,
and makes each seek its peer:
thus the world was reduced to order.

MADRIGAL 3³

- 1 Author of the universe and its parts
was Intellect, of Whom Nature is like a daughter;

2. He shows that the Intellect is eternal, and It is God, what the Gospel calls the "Word of God." And he shows that power and will are eternal in God and are one Being, and that every being shares internally in these three primalities or preeminences, either simply or in combination, according to what is written in the *Metaphysics*. Then he proves this from the actions and passions, sympathies and antipathies, which the things feel. And he shows that the world is distinguished by sense. Fire rises because it feels an affinity for heaven, and flees the earth as from an enemy; and earthly things tend downward; since all things go toward their likes and flee their contrary. Thus Anaxagoras spoke the truth that the intellect distinguishes chaos: such that if things did not share in the emotion of chaos, they would all stop where they are; and there would be neither motions nor actions, passions nor generation, nor the sense of joy and pain.

3. God, the Prime Intellect, made all the beings, modeling them on His ideas. Nature, which is divine art inserted into things, is

the daughter of Intellect; and so Nature made natural things, modeling them after His ideas. Our art, which is extrinsic nature, makes artificial things, modeling them on the ideas expressed by Nature, her mother, taught by Intellect, our art's grandfather, who made many arts, both natural and post-natural ones. Thus every natural being knows itself and loves itself in this knowledge and internal and secret love, and then loves other things and senses them, in as much as it feels itself changed by them; because feeling is passion, according to Aristotle and Telesio. But Aristotle believes that feeling is the totality of information, while Telesio believes that it is a slight in-mutation: whence all is judged then by direct syllogism. The author believes it to be Being, and that suffering and self-in-mutation serve to make the knowing virtue that object, and in this way It knows and judges it. And because the being does not completely make itself that Being, our knowledge is thus very weak, scant, and far off the mark.

l'arte nostra è nipote,
 che fa quel che far potete,
 5 l'idee mirando, che la madre piglia
 dall'avo, che d'un'arte fe' tante arti.
 Però sé sente ed ama
 per essenza e per atto
 ogn'ente, e l'altre cose,
 10 in quanto sente sé mutato, e fatto
 quelle per accidente. Indi odia e brama
 chi a male o ben l'espose.
 Talché il mutarsi in noi saper si chiama.

MADRIGALE 4⁴

1 Ma non del tutto, ché saria morire
 in sé e farsi altro, come legno fuoco.
 Ma di poca mutanza
 si nota, per sembianza,
 5 che il resto è, addoppiando molto o poco.
 Dunque saper discorso è del patire.
 Ma lo Senno Primero,
 che tutte cose feo,
 tutte è insieme, e fue:
 10 né, per saperle, in lor si muta Deo,
 s'egli era quelle già in esser più vero.
 Tu, inventor, l'opre tue
 sai, non impari; e Dio è primo ingegniero.

4. Séguita a dire che 'l sentire non é mutarsi totalmente, ché questo sarebbe morte; ma che sia percezione di poca mutazione, dalla quale poi argomenta il tutto, come, dal poco calor che ci imprime il sole, argomentiamo della sua possanza, e poi da ogni simile il suo simile. E questo discorso è sentire nel simile o nella parte in quanto simile, come scrisse in *primo Metaphysicae*. Poi dice che Dio, sendo fattor di tutte le cose, è in sé tutte cose eminentemente e idealmente; talché, per saperle, non gli bisogna mutarsi in esse, come facciamo noi, ché già è esse. E 'l suo sapere è atto senza passione e senza discorso. E lo rassomiglia all'inventor d'una cosa, ch' e' non impara da altri, ma altri

da lui, dopo ch'è fatta. Se ben l'ingegnere umano mira nella Natura, pure, rispetto alli uomini, è autore primo. Ma Dio è primo ingegnere avanti la Natura: però sa il tutto, l'insegna e non l'impara.

our art is granddaughter,
 which does what it can,
 5 contemplating the ideas that her mother takes
 from her grandfather, who made many arts from one art.
 Thus every being senses and loves itself
 by essence and by act
 from every being and all things,
 10 in as much as it feels itself changed and made
 other things by accident. So it hates or desires
 the one who exposed it to evil or good.
 The change in us is thus called knowledge.

MADRIGAL 4⁴

1 But it is not a change of the whole, which would be
 death to itself in becoming other, like wood, fire.
 But one notes a little
 change by semblance,
 5 by comparing whether the rest copies much or little.
 Thus understanding discrepancy leads to suffering.
 But the First Intellect,
 Who makes all things,
 is and was together with all things:
 10 nor does God change into them in order to know them,
 since He was them already in the truest Being.
 You, Inventor, You know Your works,
 and do not learn them; God is the first engineer.

4. He follows this by saying that sense does not totally transform itself because this would be death. Rather, it is the perception of a little change. From all of this he then infers the whole, as we infer the sun's power from the bit of heat that it imparts us, and every other thing according to its kind. And a sensing in one's peer or in another part in as much as it is similar [to oneself] brings to light this discrepancy, as he wrote in the first book of his *Metaphysics*. Then he says that God, being the Maker of all things, is in Himself all things eminently and ideally; thus, in order to know them, it is not necessary that He change into them, as we do, because He is them already. And His knowl-

edge is an act without passion and without discourse. And he likens Him to the inventor of a thing, for He does not learn from others, but others from Him, after that thing is made. If human ingenuity reflects Nature well, it is the first author with respect to men. But God is the First Engineer before Nature: thus He knows all, He teaches it and does not learn it.

MADRIGALE 5⁵

- 1 Come le piante al suolo, i pesci all'acque,
le fiere all'aria e li splendori al sole
han sì continovate
le vite, che, staccate,
5 si svanisce il vigor, riman la mole:
così al Senno Primo unito nacque,
come è bisogno e quanto
per conservarsi, ogn'ente
con più o manco luce;
10 e, da lui svélto, ignora, muore e mente:
né si annullando e variando manto,
quel che può, si riduce,
come ogni caldo al sole, al Senno santo.

24 Al Primo Senno

Canzone seconda

MADRIGALE 1¹

- 1 La luce è una, semplice e sincera
nel sole, e per se stessa manifesta,
ch'è di sé diffusiva
e moltiplicativa,

5. Tutti gli enti sono uniti al Primo Ente, come gli splendori al sole, però tanto quanto bisogna a loro il senso per vivere: onde più e meno luce ricevono; e, da quella staccati, divengon bugiardi, ignoranti e annicchilati nell'esser ch'e' hanno; e, quando muiono, non s'annullano, ma variano forma, e sempre si riducono all'essere, ché fuor dell'essere non possono andare. E, come il calor torna al sole, così il sapere d'ogni ente contende tornar al Primo Senno, onde deriva. *Quis intelliget?*

1. Questa comparazione è notissima a chi sa che la luce è simile al senno, secondo Salomone, e ch'essa è il primo colore, che per sé si vede e fa veder gli altri enti, di cui si riflette tinta, ed entra negli occhi con la tintura di quelli. Onde san Paolo: "*Omne quod manifestatur, lumen est.*" E questo scrisse l'autor contra Aristotile, che fa il colore oggetto della vista, e non sa che 'l colore è luce imbrattata dalla nerezza della materia e smorta. Nota anche che la luce sente e vede più che noi, secondo l'autore nel terzo *De sensu rerum*, e che s'allegria, diffonde, ecc.

MADRIGALE 5⁵

- 1 Come le piante al suolo, i pesci all'acque,
le fiere all'aria e li splendori al sole
han sì continovate
le vite, che, staccate,
5 si svanisce il vigor, riman la mole:
così al Senno Primo unito nacque,
come è bisogno e quanto
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con più o manco luce;
10 e, da lui svélto, ignora, muore e mente:
né si annullando e variando manto,
quel che può, si riduce,
come ogni caldo al sole, al Senno santo.

24 Al Primo Senno

Canzone seconda

MADRIGALE 1¹

- 1 La luce è una, semplice e sincera
nel sole, e per se stessa manifesta,
ch'è di sé diffusiva
e moltiplicativa,

5. Tutti gli enti sono uniti al Primo Ente, come gli splendori al sole, però tanto quanto bisogna a loro il senso per vivere: onde più e meno luce ricevono; e, da quella staccati, divengon bugiardi, ignoranti e annicchilati nell'esser ch'e' hanno; e, quando muiono, non s'annullano, ma variano forma, e sempre si riducono all'essere, ché fuor dell'essere non possono andare. E, come il calor torna al sole, così il sapere d'ogni ente contende tornar al Primo Senno, onde deriva. *Quis intelliget?*

1. Questa comparazione è notissima a chi sa che la luce è simile al senno, secondo Salomone, e ch'essa è il primo colore, che per sé si vede e fa veder gli altri enti, di cui si riflette tinta, ed entra negli occhi con la tintura di quelli. Onde san Paolo: "*Omne quod manifestatur, lumen est.*" E questo scrisse l'autor contra Aristotile, che fa il colore oggetto della vista, e non sa che 'l colore è luce imbrattata dalla nerezza della materia e smorta. Nota anche che la luce sente e vede più che noi, secondo l'autore nel terzo *De sensu rerum*, e che s'allegria, diffonde, ecc.

MADRIGAL 5⁵

- 1 As plants to the soil, fish to the waters,
beasts to the air, and splendors to the sun
have their lives so connected,
that separated, their vigor
5 disappears but the matter remains:
so every being is born united to the Prime Intellect,
with more or less light
in as much as is necessary
to preserve itself;
10 and, torn from Him, is ignorant, dies, and lies:
not by destroying itself nor changing its cloak,
but in as much as it can, it returns,
to the holy Intellect like all heat to the sun.

24 To the Prime Intellect

Second Song

MADRIGAL 1¹

- 1 Light is one, simple and sincere
in the sun, and manifest in itself,
which is of itself diffusive
and multiplicative,

5. All beings are united to the Prime Being, like splendors to the sun, but only in as much sense as they need to live: so they receive more or less light; and, separated from that, they become liars, ignorant, and destroyed in the being that they have; and, when they die, they cannot annul themselves, rather they change form, and they always reduce themselves to being, because outside of Being they cannot go. And, as the heat returns to the sun, so does knowledge of every contending being return to the Prime Intellect, whence it derives. *Quis intelliget?*

1. This comparison is very well known to those who know that light is similar to the intellect, according to Solomon, and that it is the first color, that through itself it is seen and allows the other beings to see, reflecting off of which, it is stained and enters the eyes with their hue. Thus St. Paul said: "*Omne quod manifestatur, lumen est.*" And the author wrote this countering Aristotle, who makes color the object of sight, and does not know that color is light soiled by the blackness of matter and in itself colorless. The author notes also that light senses and sees more than us, according to what the author wrote in his third book *On the Sense of Things*, and that it gladdens, diffuses, etc.

- 5 agile, viva ed efficace e presta;
tutto vede e veder face in sua sfera.
Poi, negli opachi mista
corpi, vivezza perde,
né per sé si diffonde.
- 10 Di color giallo, azzurro, rosso e verde
prende nome, secondo l'ombra trista
più o meno la nasconde,
né senza il primo lume può esser vista.

MADRIGALE 2²

- 1 Così lo Senno in Dio senza fin puro,
moltiplicabile, unico e veloce,
tutto ad un tratto vede,
forma, insegna e possede;
- 5 detto qua "Verbo," e in Ciel di miglior voce.
Partecipato poi dal mondo oscuro
e di finita forza,
teme, ama, odia ed obblia;
né più "Dio," ma vien detto
- 10 "natura," "senno," "ragion," "fantasia."
E secondo più o men dura ha la scorza
o più e manco è schietto,
più o manco sa; ma in Dio più si rinforza.

2. Qualità del Senno eterno simile alla luce, e del senno creato simile al colore, ch'è luce partecipata. E che, secondo la scorza corporea più o men ottusa, più o men sa. E che, da Dio guidato, come il color dalla luce, si rinforza e si fa visibile e conoscente e attivo, poiché si vede quanto sanno più gli discepoli di Dio che degli uomini. Nota che, da ciò che Dio partecipato non vien detto "Dio," ma "senno," ecc., si può argomentare che la mente nostra sia una luce o colore partecipante dell'esser divino od esso Dio partecipato, ecc. *Theologiza et laetare*.

- 5 agile, living, efficacious, and quick;
it sees all and makes all seen in its sphere.
Then it mixes in opaque
bodies, loses vitality,
and no longer diffuses itself through itself.
- 10 It takes the name of colors, yellow, blue,
red, and green, according to whether
the sad shadow hides it more or less,
though without the first light it cannot be seen.

MADRIGAL 2²

- 1 Thus the Intellect in God, pure without end,
multipliable, singular, and fast,
sees all at once,
forms, teaches, and possesses;
- 5 called here “Logos,” and in Heaven by a better term.
Participating then in the dark world
and of finite force,
it fears, loves, hates, and forgets,
and it is not called “God” anymore
- 10 but “nature,” “intellect,” “reason,” or “fantasy.”
And according to whether it has a covering
more or less hard, or is more or less pure,
it knows more or less; but in God it becomes stronger.

2. The qualities of eternal Intellect are similar to light, and that of created intellect is similar to color, which is shared light. According to whether the corporeal covering is more or less dull, the created intellect knows more or less. Guided by God, as color from light, it grows stronger and makes itself visible and knowing and active, as is seen in how much more the disciples of God know than those of men. He notes that, given that shared God is not called “God,” but “intellect,” etc., one can argue that our mind is a light or color sharing in the divine Being or this shared God, etc. *Theologiza et laetare*.

MADRIGALE 3³

- 1 Spirto puro, qual luce, di tutti enti
ben s'infacc, e gli intende in quella guisa
ch'essi in se stessi sono;
ed a sorgere è buono
- 5 a giudicar, di quel che gli si avvisa,
il resto e gli simili e i differenti.
Ma l'impuro infelice,
qual rossor rosse scorge
le cose, e non come enno,
- 10 e d'una in altra sembianza mal sorge:
laonde il natural mentire indice,
ma non lo scaltro, un senno
di natura corrotta e peccatrice.

MADRIGALE 4⁴

- 1 Chi tutte cose impara, tutte fassi,
qual Dio, ma non del tutto ed in essenza,
com'è la Cagion Prima.
Ch'alma di tanta stima
- 5 far cose vive sol con l'intendenza
potria e del spazio comprendere i passi;
quanti il freddo e caldo hanno
gradi, e momenti il moto,

3. Bisogna ben notare questo madrigale, dove si mostra che lo spirto puro, come luce s'infà ("afficitur," vocabolo nuovo) di tutt'i colori e gli rappresenta come sono, così egli di tutti gli enti; e però gli giudica come sono, e non sa mentire, né vuole. Ma lo spirto impuro, fuliginoso, non si infà se non come egli è infatto; e, come il rosso occhiale rappresenta le cose rosse, e non quali sono, così l'impuro le sente, e però è per natura mendace. Ed è segno di natura corrotta e viziosa, quando mente non per industria, bisogno e saggacità, ma naturalmente in tutte cose suol mentire.

4. L'uomo, che tutte le cose impara, si fa, qual Dio, tutte cose; e questo lo dice Dionisio Areopagita, allegato pur da san Tomaso. Ma non però è Dio, sì perché non può tutte imparare, sì perché non si fa tutte per essenza, com'è Dio ogni cosa per essenza eminentemente. E chi fosse tale, saprebbe ogni cosa; saprebbe tutto 'l libro avanti che lo leggesse, e sol con l'intelligenza potrebbe far le cose; come le fa Dio, che è esse, onde le fa senza fatica.

MADRIGAL 3³

- 1 Pure spirit, as light, enacts itself well
in all beings and understands them in that guise
that they are in themselves;
and as it rises it is good
- 5 at judging, both similar and different beings
according to how it perceives them.
But the unhappy impure one
whose blush perceives things as red,
and not as they are,
- 10 rises poorly from one semblance to another:
from that, natural lying is indicated,
but not shrewdness, an intellect
of a corrupt and sinful nature.

MADRIGAL 4⁴

- 1 One who learns all things, makes them all
like God, but not in their entirety and essence
as does the Prime Cause.
For a soul of such great ability
- 5 could make living things with understanding alone
and comprehend the steps of space;
the degrees that cold and hot have,
the moments in motion,

3. One must note well this madrigal in which it is shown that just as light self-infuses (*afficitur*, a new term) all the colors and represents them as they are, so does the pure spirit self-infuse all beings; thus, it judges them as they are and does not know how to lie, nor does it want to. But the impure and sooty spirit does not self-infuse except in as much as it is inmade; and, as the red lens represents things as red, and not as they are, so the impure one perceives them, and is thus mendacious by nature. And this is a sign of corrupt and defective nature when one lies not through industry, need, or wiliness, but is naturally wont to lie about all things.

4. The man who learns all things, makes for himself all things like God; and Dionysius the Areopagite says this, supported also by St. Thomas. Not for this reason is man God, however, because he can neither learn all things, nor make for himself all of them in their essence, like God is eminently all things in essence. And the one who were such, would know everything; would know the whole book before reading it, and through intelligence alone could make things like God makes them, Who is them, hence He makes them without effort.

e del tempo gli instanti;
10 quanti angeli, e vie il lume, e corpi ha il vòto;
le riforme, che a lor vengono e vanno,
i rispetti, e sembianti;
quanti atomi in ogni ente e come stanno.

MADRIGALE 5⁵

1 Chi che si sia purissimo, dappoi
ch'averia conosciuto tutte cose,
non si potria dir certo
d'una sola esser certo,
5 quant'arti, parti e rispetti Dio pose
in lei, co' tanti ognor divari suoi.
Ch' e' non è dentro a quella,
e sé dentro a sé ignora:
onde con sua misura
10 né con quella dell'esser, certo fõra,
se tutto s'internasse. L'uom, la stella,
l'angel, ogni fattura
diverso han senso pur d'ogni cosella.

5. Quantunque uno spirto purissimo imparasse tutte le cose, non saperebbe una sola, secondo nel primo della *Metafisica* s'è pruovato. Perché in quella non può internarsi, e saper quanti atomi ha, e come situati, e quali rispetti con le cose tutte, e col passato e 'l futuro. E, se pur s'internasse, men la saperebbe, poiché se stesso intra se stesso non conosce. Né con la misura dell'essere la saperebbe, ma con la sua, le più alte più bassamente, le più basse più altamente, ecc., ecc., *quia recipiuntur secundum modum recipientis*. E però ogni ente ha particolare modo di scienza d'ogni minuta cosa, secondo la *Metafisica* dell'autore.

and the instants in time;
 10 the number of angels and ways of light and bodies in the void;
 the ways their forms come and go,
 their relationships and semblances;
 the number of atoms in every being and how they are arranged.

MADRIGAL 5⁵

1 Even if a spirit were most pure,
 after having learned all things,
 it could not say with certainty
 to be of a single thing certain,
 5 how many arts, parts, and relationships God put
 in it, always with its many differences.
 For it is not inside itself, and even if it were,
 it would remain unknown to itself:
 thus in quantity, if not in its quality,
 10 it would certainly remain outside itself,
 even if it could penetrate itself. Man, the star,
 the angel, and everything made
 have a different sense of every little thing.

5. Although a very pure spirit might learn everything, it would still not know one thing, according to what is proven in the first book of *Metaphysics*. Because in that thing it cannot penetrate within itself and know how many atoms it contains and how they are situated and what they are with respect to all things both in the past and in the future. And even if it could penetrate itself, it would still know less since it does not know itself within itself. Nor with the measure of Being would it know that, but with the measure of its own being the highest things in the lowest way, the lowest in the highest way, etc., etc., *quid recipiuntur secundum modum recipientis*. Thus every being has a particular way of understanding every minute thing, according to the author's *Metaphysics*.

25 Al Primo Senno

Canzone terza

MADRIGALE 1¹

- 1 Tanto senno have ogn'ente, quanto basta
serbarlo a sé, alla specie, al mondo, a cui
per tanto tempo è nato,
per quanto Dio ha ordinato
5 pel fato, a cui serviamo più ch'a nui:
ond'altri in fior, altri in frutto, altri guasta
di noi nel materno alvo.
Come, per uso vario,
facciam pur noi dell'erbe,
10 cui pare ingiusto il nostro necessario;
così a noi, mentre s'offre or folto or calvo,
par che ragion non serbi
il fatal capo, che 'l mondo tien salvo.

MADRIGALE 2²

- 1 Cosa stupenda ha fatto il Senno eterno,
ch'ogni ente, benché vil, non vuol cangiarsi
con altri; onde s'aiuta
contra 'l morir che 'l muta;

1. Mostra ch' ogni ente ha tanto sapere, quanto basta a conservarsi per quanto tempo Dio conobbe esser utile alla specie e al mondo, a cui serve ogni parte; e non si può trapassare il fato divino, a cui serviamo più che a noi. Onde, come noi mangiamo l'erbe in fiori o in frutti e quando ci piace, e questo pare ingiusto ad esse erbe, ché le uccidiamo e lor togliamo il seme e li figli; così il mondo per fato uccide noi, o bambini o fatti uomini o vecchi, secondo il bene del tutto; e questo ci par contra ragione, che 'l fato ci mostra la fronte calva o crinuta, secondo gli piace per util del mondo. "*Fronte capillata est, post haec occasio calva*"; a che allude questa rima.

2. Dice che, se gli enti ignobili conoscessero l'esser de' nobili, s'ucciderebbono per mutarsi in quelli, e 'l legno vorrebbe esser fuoco, e la terra, e ogni corpo più vile. Ma, perché per segreto senso sente sé solo, e ha il gusto del suo essere, ch'è partecipazione di divinità, non vorrebbe mai morir e pensa bearsi solo nel suo essere. E però si vede che Dio, per farci vivere contenti, si serve dell'ignoranza nostra per quanto tempo gli piace che si serbi ogni ente. Dunque il mondo è gabbia de' matti; e, se non fosse così, ognun s'ucciderebbe per migliorare. Ma, come matti, ci tegnamo esser più che dèi. "*Unicuique proprius olet crepitus*," disse Plauto.

25 To the Prime Intellect

Third Song

MADRIGAL 1¹

- 1 Every being has as much intellect as it needs
to preserve itself, for itself, its species, and the world
to which it is born for as much time
as God ordained to it by fate,
5 which we serve more than ourselves:
thus some of us in the flower, others in the fruit, others
of us He takes in the maternal womb.
As by varying usage
we also make of herbs,
10 to which our necessity seems unjust;
likewise to us, He offers sometimes thick
or bald His fatal head, and it seems
that He does not follow reason, but He saves the world.

MADRIGAL 2²

- 1 A stupendous thing Eternal Intellect has wrought,
that every being, though vile, does not want to trade places
with others; so it guards itself
against death, which would change it;

1. He shows that every being has as much knowledge as it needs to preserve itself for as much time as God knew to be useful to the species and the world, which every part serves; and one cannot surpass divine Fate, which we serve more than for our own selves. Thus just as we eat plants in bloom or bearing fruit, and whenever we like, which seems unjust to these plants that we kill and from which we take their seed and offspring; in like manner the world through fate kills us, either as children or as grown men or elderly, according to the good of the whole; and it seems to us against reason that this fate shows us a bald forehead or forelock, according to what it likes for the usefulness of the world. "*Fronte capillata est, post haec occasio calva*"; to which these verses allude.

2. He says that if the ignoble beings knew of the existence of the noble ones, they would kill themselves in order to transform themselves into those, and wood, and the earth, and every more lowly body would want to be fire. But, because by a secret sense it feels only for itself, and takes pleasure in its being, which is a sharing of divinity, it would not ever want to die and thinks that it can delight only in its being. For this reason one can see that God, in order to make us live contentedly, takes advantage of our ignorance for as much time as He likes to maintain every being. So the world is a cage of fools; and if it were not so, everyone would kill himself to be better. But as fools we consider ourselves better than gods. "*Unicuique proprius olet crepitus*," said Plautus.

- 5 ma vorria e crede solo in sé bearsi,
ché ignora l'altrui ben, sape il suo interno.
O somma Sapienza,
che di nostra ignoranza
si serve a far ciascuno
10 felice e lieto, e l'universo avanza.
Gabbia de' matti è il mondo; e, se mai senza
di follie fosse, ognuno
s'uccideria, anelando a più eccellenza.

MADRIGALE 3³

- 1 La fabbrica del mondo e di sue parti
e delle particelle e parti loro;
le varie operazioni,
che han tutte nazioni
5 degli enti nostri e del celeste coro;
vari riti, costumi, vite ed arti
de' passati e presenti,
degli astri e delle piante,
de' sassi e delle fiere;
10 tempi, virtù, luoghi e forme tante;
le guerre e le cagion de gli elementi
noti chi vuol sapere,
ch' e' nulla sappia, e non con finti accenti.

3. Mai l'uomo non può arrivar a dire:
"unum scio, quod nihil scio," con verità e non
con umiltà falsa, se non quando averà
saputo quanto contiene questo madrigale:
perché da questo conosce che più cose assai
gli restano a sapere, e che queste neanche
sa, perché vede tanta la sua ignoranza
d'esse, per la varietà e piccola penetrazione
in loro, che s'accorge poi bene non vera-
mente sapere. E questo è 'l sapere al quale
può arrivare l'uomo perfettissimo, secondo
la *Metafisica* dell'autore. E Socrate lo seppe.
E san Paolo disse: *"Qui putat se scire, nondum
novit quantum oporteat illum scire."*

5 but it would like to be and believes it is blessed
 only in itself because it is ignorant of the good of others.
 Oh highest Wisdom,
 Who takes advantage of our ignorance
 to make each happy and glad,
 10 and to advance the universe.
 The world is a cage of fools; and if it ever
 were without madness, everyone
 would kill himself to become greater.

MADRIGAL 3³

1 The factory of the world and of its parts
 and of their particles and little parts;
 the various operations
 that all nations
 5 of our beings and of the celestial choir;
 various rites, customs, lives, and arts
 of the past and present ages,
 of the stars and plants,
 rocks and beasts;
 10 times, virtues, places, and many forms;
 the wars and the reasons for the elements
 may he note who wants to know,
 but he knows nothing except with false accents.

3. Man can never come to say in truth
 and not in false humility: "*unum scio, quod nihil
 scio*," until he knows all of what this madrigal
 contains, because from this he learns that
 many more things remain to be known, and
 that he does not even know this because he
 sees that his ignorance is so great in its vari-
 ety and shallow penetration in these things
 that he then well realizes that he does not
 truly know. And this is the knowledge that
 the most perfect person can reach, accord-
 ing to the author's *Metaphysics*. And Socrates
 knew it. And St. Paul said: "*Qui putat se scire,
 nondum novit quantum oporteat illum scire*."

MADRIGALE 4⁴

- 1 Spirto puro e beato solo arriva
a sì saggia ignoranza; né può farsi
puro chi non è nato
per colpa altrui o per fato.
- 5 Può di natura il don più raffinarsi
con gli oggetti e con l'arte educativa,
e farsi ampio e chiaro;
ma non leggier, di greve,
se di savi e di eroi
- 10 senno e forza ogn'alunno non riceve.
Né si trasfonde, se fiacco ed ignaro
figlio fanno; onde puoi
considerare altronde don sì caro.

MADRIGALE 5⁵

- 1 La purità natia dunque si tira
dall'armonia del mondo e d'ogni corda,
che vario suon disserra,
tesa in cielo ed in terra;
- 5 e chi sa ingenerarla, a lor s'accorda,
dove, onorato, Dio sua grazia aspira.
Oh felice soggetto,

4. Chi può arrivar a sapere che non si sa, è puro e beato di natural beatitudine. Però non si può questo sapere dalli altri, ma solo credere, perché non possono farsi lo spirito animale puro, che somministra all'anima infusa da Dio il sapere degli oggetti. Dice che l'arte e gli oggetti affinano il sapere e lo specificano, ma non lo generano, come pensò Aristotile; e questo è in *Metafisica* disputato. E come tutti hanno tanto senno, quanto basta ad ubbidir la legge, ch'è sapienza del comune, e però non sono scusati gli impuri. Poi mostra che la sapienza non s'impara né si trasfonde per generazione, poichè gli figli e discepoli delli sapienti ed eroi non sono tutti sapienti e valorosi. Dunque è dono divino travasato per loro.

5. Assai difficile è a dire come dall'armonia del cielo e della terra delli secondi enti co' primi avviene la purità dello spirito sensitivo, e come si può far generazione perfetta sotto certi luoghi e stelle e tempi, secondo che l'autore scrive nella *Città del sole*. E che Dio, onorato in cercar la sua grazia per ragion naturale da lui seminata, infonde il suo aiuto, e unisce l'anima immortale a spirito puro, e fa uomini divini. E ch'egli è ottimo e purissimo, chi per sé tutto sa, e quel che non si sa intende. A questo segue in grado chi crede al purissimo, ma chi non crede al savio e puro intelletto è disutile a sé e agli altri. Ed Esiodo disse: "*Optimus ille quidem*," ecc., "*Proximus*," ecc., "*At qui nescit*," ecc.

MADRIGAL 4⁴

- 1 Only the pure and blessed spirit arrives
 at such wise ignorance; nor can one make oneself
 pure who is not born so
 by another's fault or by fate.
- 5 Nature's gift can become more refined
 through objects and the educative arts,
 and make itself broad and clear;
 but not light from heavy,
 if from wise men and heroes
- 10 every pupil does not receive wisdom and strength.
 Nor can they transfuse themselves, if they make
 a weak and ignorant offspring; thus you can
 consider in another way a gift so dear.

MADRIGAL 5⁵

- 1 Inborn purity is thus drawn
 from the harmony of the world and from every chord,
 taut between heaven and earth,
 which unleashes varying sounds;
- 5 and he who knows how to produce it, tunes himself to them,
 and God, honored, breathes forth His grace.
 Oh happy subject,

4. He who can come to know that he cannot know is pure and blessed of a natural blessedness. But one cannot learn this from others, because the knowledge of objects cannot make a pure animate spirit that subministers to the soul infused by God. He says that art and objects refine knowledge and particularize it, but do not generate it, as Aristotle thought; and this is discussed in his *Metaphysics*. And as everyone has as much wisdom as one needs to obey the law, which is the wisdom of the community; nevertheless the impure are not excused. Then he shows that wisdom is not learned or transferred to the next generation because children and disciples of wise men and heroes are not all wise and valorous. Thus it is a divine gift granted to them.

5. It is very difficult to say how the purity of the sensitive spirit came from the harmony of heaven and earth, and the second entities from the first, and how it is possible to make perfect generation in certain places and under certain stars and times, according to what the author wrote in his *City of the Sun*. And how God, honored in the search for His grace by natural reason, seminated by Him, infuses His aid and unites the immortal soul with the pure spirit to make divine men. One is excellent and very pure who knows all through himself and what he does not know he intuitively. And this follows by degree the one who believes in the most pure, but one who does not believe in the sage and pure intellect is useless to oneself and to others. And Hesiod said: "*Optimus ille quidem*," etc., "*Proximus*," etc., "*At qui nescit*," etc.

degno di favor tale,
che Dio in lui di sé goda!
10 Poscia è felice chi tanto non vale,
se, ascoltando, s'unisce a quel perfetto.
Ma d'ogni ben si froda,
chi nato è impuro e schifa il saggio e schietto.

26 Introduzione ad Amore, vero Amore¹

1 Il vero amante sempre acquista forza,
ché l'immagine amata e la bellezza
l'anima sua raddoppia; donde sprezza
ogn'alta impresa ed ogni pena ammorza.
5 Se amor donnesco tanto ne rinforza,
quanta gloria darà, gioia e grandezza,
unita per amor, l'eterna Altezza
all'anima rinchiusa a questa scorza?
L'anima si farà un'immensa spera,
10 che amar, saper e far tutto potrebbe
in Dio, di meraviglie sempr'altèra.
Ma noi siamo a noi stessi lupi e zebbe,
senza il vero Amore, luce sincera,
ch'a tanta altezza sublimar ne debbe.

1. Egli è vero che l'amante si raddoppia, perché si fa essa cosa amata, onde divien forte ad ogni alta impresa per la divinità della beltà amata a lui unita. Or, s'egli è così, molto più la beltà eterna fa l'uomo invitto, che di lei s'innamora; e però gli amici di Dio con la fede viva, amorosa traspongono i monti, trasmutan le cose, fermano il sole, come Giosuè. Ma noi siamo lupi del nostro bene, e pecore divorate dal nostro lupino amore, e privi della sincera luce d'Amor divino, che ci può deificare e farci comandare a tutte le creature.

degno di favor tale,
che Dio in lui di sé goda!
10 Poscia è felice chi tanto non vale,
se, ascoltando, s'unisce a quel perfetto.
Ma d'ogni ben si froda,
chi nato è impuro e schifa il saggio e schietto.

26 Introduzione ad Amore, vero Amore¹

1 Il vero amante sempre acquista forza,
ché l'immagine amata e la bellezza
l'anima sua raddoppia; donde sprezza
ogn'alta impresa ed ogni pena ammorza.
5 Se amor donnesco tanto ne rinforza,
quanta gloria darà, gioia e grandezza,
unita per amor, l'eterna Altezza
all'anima rinchiusa a questa scorza?
L'anima si farà un'immensa spera,
10 che amar, saper e far tutto potrebbe
in Dio, di meraviglie sempr'altèra.
Ma noi siamo a noi stessi lupi e zebbe,
senza il vero Amore, luce sincera,
ch'a tanta altezza sublimar ne debbe.

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deserving of such favor,
that God may take delight in him through Himself!
10 Then he is happy who, though not as worthy,
listening, unites himself to that perfect one.
But he defrauds himself of every good
who is born impure and disdains the wise and frank.

26 Introduction to Love, True Love¹

1 The true lover always gains strength
because the beloved image and beauty
doubles his soul, so he finds easy
every daunting undertaking and scorns every pain.
5 If womanly love strengthens him so much,
how much glory, joy, and greatness would
the Eternal Highness give to the soul,
united by love sealed in this covering?
The soul would become one immense sphere
10 that could love, know, and do all
in God, always full of marvels.
But we are wolves and sheep to ourselves
without the true Love, sincere light,
which should sublimate us to such highness.

1. It is true that the lover “doubles himself” because he makes himself the beloved thing also, thus he becomes strong for every great endeavor through the divinity of the loved beauty united to him. Now, if this is so, much more undefeatable does eternal beauty make the man who is enamored of Her; and so the friends of God with living faith, lovingly move mountains, transmute things, and stop the sun, like Joshua. But we are wolves preying on our own welfare and sheep devoured by our wolfish love, deprived of the pure light of divine Love, which can deify us and make us command all the creatures.

27 Contra Cupido¹

- 1 Son tremila anni omai che 'l mondo cole
un cieco amor, c'ha la faretra e l'ale;
ch'or di più è fatto sordo, e l'altrui male,
privo di caritate, udir non vuole.
- 5 D'argento è ingordo e a brun vestirsi suole,
non più nudo fanciul schietto e leale,
ma vecchio astuto; e non usa aureo strale,
poiché fûr ritrovate le pistole,
ma carbon, solfo, vampa, tuono e piombo,
- 10 che di piaghe infernali i corpi ammorba,
e sorde e losche fa l'avide menti.
- Pur dalla squilla mia sento un rimbombo:
"Cedi, bestia impiagata, sorda ed orba,
al saggio amor dell'anime innocenti."

31 Del sommo bene metafisico

Canzone

MADRIGALE 1¹

- 1 L'Essere è il Sommo Ben, che mai non manca,
e di nulla ha bisogno, e nulla pave.

1. Qui si mostra che l'amor cieco fu deificato nel secolo rio, e che poi peggiorò nell'età nostra tenebrosa; e ora sta per tornar al mondo il vero amore, savio e puro, secondo ch'e' predice del secolo d'oro futuro, dopo la caduta dell'Anticristo. Vedi gli *Profetali*. Le sottigliezze del sonetto noti un altro, ch'io solo dico il senso occulto e nuovo.

1. L'esser universale nell'essere e causare propone per Sommo Bene: di cui proprio è che sia indeficiente e di nullo abbia bisogno o paura, né ami, né intenda altro che se stesso; ma, amando e intendendo sé, ama e intende tutte cose per sé. E perch'è infinito, non può dentro né fuor di lui stare il niente. Dunque, nulla cosa s'annicchila per morte,

ma si trasmuta solo. Poi mostra che la base dell'esser creato sia lo spazio universale, tenuto da certi arabi per Dio, e 'l quale, secondo noi, è in Dio; da cui, in cui e per cui, ecc. Nota com'ogni ente è intra Dio, ed è cinto e incinto di lui, e pure da lui è lontanissimo, perché è finito, e quello infinito. E come le cose muoiano, in Dio vivendo; come una gocciola d'acqua, gittata in mare, muore e vive.

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27 Against Cupid¹

- 1 For three thousand years the world has clung
to a blind love, that has a quiver and wings;
which now more than ever is deaf, and for another's misery
devoid of charity, refusing to hear it.
- 5 Greedy for silver, it usually dresses in brown,
no longer the naked, frank, and loyal boy,
but a crafty old man; and it does not use the golden arrow,
since pistols have been invented,
but carbon, sulfur, flames, thunder, and lead,
- 10 that infest bodies with infernal wounds,
and make avid minds deaf and sinister.
- Even from my little bell I hear a boom:
"Yield, wounded beast, deaf and blind,
to the wise love of innocent souls."

31 On the Metaphysical Highest Good

Song

MADRIGAL 1¹

- 1 Being is the Highest Good, never lacking,
it needs nothing, and fears nothing.

1. Here he shows how blind love was deified in the evil age, and that it then worsened in our dark age; and now true love, sage and pure, is about to return to the world, according to what he predicts of the future golden age after the fall of the Antichrist. See the *Prophetic Articles*. Let another note the subtleties of the sonnet, for I speak only of hidden and new meanings.

1. He proposes the universal Being in Its being and cause as the Highest Good; of which Its own is that which is not deficient and has no need or fear of anything, nor does It love, nor understand another besides Itself; but, loving and understanding Itself, It loves and understands all things through

Itself. And because It is infinite, nothing can be inside or outside of It. Thus, no thing is destroyed by death, but is only transmuted. Then he shows that the foundation of created being is universal space, believed by certain Arabs to be God, but is, according to us, in God; from Whom, in Whom, and by Whom, etc. He notes how every being is within God, and is girded and ingirded [or surrounded and impregnated] by Him, and also is very far from Him because each being is finite, but that One is infinite. And as things die, living in God, they are like a drop of water thrown into the sea that dies and lives.

Amanlo tutti sempre; e' sol se stesso,
 perché non ha maggior né più soave.
 5 S'egli è infinito, noi di morte affranca,
 ché fuor non ha, né dentro a lui framesso
 puote il niente star. Né dunque alcuna
 cosa s'annula, ma si cangia spesso.
 Lo spazio immenso all'esser d'ogni cosa
 10 è base in lui nascosa,
 che solo in sé riposa,
 da cui, per cui e in cui son tutte in una;
 e da cui lontanissima è ciascuna
 da infinito finita; e perch'è incinta
 15 e cinta, è vicinissima anche, stante
 in lui viva e per lui, s'è per noi estinta,
 come pioggia nel mar mai non mancante.

MADRIGALE 2²

1 Come lo spazio tutti enti penètra,
 locando, e d'essi insieme è penetrato;
 così Dio gli enti interna, e 'l spazio, e passa,
 non come luogo, né come locato,
 5 ma in modo preeminente; donde impetra
 lo spazio d'esser luogo, e 'l corpo massa,
 e l'agenti virtù d'esser attive,
 e gli composti in cui l'idea trappassa.
 E perch'egli è, ogni ente è per segela,
 10 qual splendor per candela;
 ma si occulta e rivela
 in varie fogge, in cui sempre si vive,
 come atomi nell'aria. In fiamme vive

2. Dio, simile allo spazio, che penetra tutte le cose, e 'n lui sono internamente tutte. Ma Dio, non come luogo né come locato contiene le cose o è nelle cose, ma in certa maniera eminentissima, dalla quale il luogo prende l'esser luogo, e la materia l'esser materia, e gli composti l'idea della composta loro. E perché Dio è, ogni ente è per conseguenza, come per candela lucente è lo splendore conseguente: non per natura,

ma per volontà di Dio, e come in Dio. S'ascondono in Dio quando paion non esser, e si rivelano a noi quando hanno l'essere sensibile. Poi dice che, mutandosi ogni cosa, non s'annicchilano, ma godono pur dello essere in che si mutano; perché ogni ente ha il potere, il sapere e l'amor di se stesso, l'idea donde provengono.

All things love It always; but It only Itself,
 because It has no betters, nor a peer more lovely.
 5 If It is infinite, It sets us free in death,
 since nothing can remain outside,
 nor inside of It. Nor is anything ever
 destroyed, but changes often.
 The immense space of being
 10 is the basis of everything, hidden in Itself,
 that only rests in Itself,
 from Which, by Which, and in Which all things are one;
 and from Which each finite thing is very far
 from the infinite; and because each is ingirded
 15 and girded, each is also very close, remaining
 alive in It and through It, though for us It is not distinct,
 like rain in the sea never lacking.

MADRIGAL 2²

1 Like space penetrates all beings
 in their places, and likewise is penetrated by them;
 so God internalizes beings, and space, and surpasses them,
 not like a place, nor like the located thing,
 5 but in a preeminent way. He imparts
 the space to locational being, and mass to bodies,
 and virtue to agents to be active,
 and to composites, in which His Idea passes.
 And because He is, consequently every being is, too;
 10 like splendor from a candle;
 but He hides and reveals Himself
 in various guises in Whom all always live,
 like atoms in the air. Into living flames

2. Similar to space, God penetrates all things, and in Him are internally all things. But unlike place or the located thing that contains things or is in things, God is in some manner most eminent. Place takes its locational being from Him, and matter its material being, and the composites the idea of their composition. And because God is, then every being is as a consequence, as by means of a lighted candle the splendor is

consequent: not by nature, but by the will of God, and in God. When things seem not to be, they are hiding in God, and they reveal themselves to us when they have sensorial being. Then he says that, when all things change, they are not destroyed, but enjoy even that being into which they mutate; because every being has power, knowledge, and love of itself, and the idea from where they come.

spiace a' legni mutarsi, e d'esser vampe
15 godon poscia, ch'amor, virtute e senso
dell'esser proprio han tutte le sue stampe,
per quanto è d'uopo, dall'Autor immenso.

MADRIGALE 3³

1 L'uom fu bambino, embrione, seme e sangue,
pane, erba ed altre cose, in cui godeva
d'esser quel ch'era, e gli spiaceva mutarsi
in quel ch'è mo: e quel ch'ora gli aggreva,
5 di farsi in fuoco, in terra, in topo, in angue,
poi piaceralli; e crederà bearsi
in quel che fia, ché in tutti enti riluce
la idea divina, e pel dimenticarsi.
Dunque nullo ama quel che amar gli pare:
10 altro patir o fare,
che 'l suo esser sa dare.
Ch'un sia due, osta il tutto; e chi esser duce
vuole, è, in quanto è simile, o produce
imago, onde tal si ama; e non è, in quanto
15 guastarsi in quel ch'è duca abborre, ed anco
v'è quell'altro, talch'egli è un altro tanto;
e 'l savio è tutti, ancor di morte franco.

3. Leggi, per intender questo, il secondo libro della seconda parte della *Metafisica*. Per esempio, dell'uomo, in quanto animale, mostra che, quando una cosa è, gode del suo essere e gli spiace mutarsi. E però è da stimarsi che, quando era un altro ente, come a dir pane, non gli piaceva diventar carne di uomo; e or ch'è, gli piace. Così dopo morte, non gli spiacerà esser altro ente, e ora gli spiace diventar quello: e poi vorrà esser verme che nasce del nostro corpo. E questo piacere avviene, ché in tutti luce la idea divina, e per la dimenticanza dell'esser passato migliore e ignoranza del futuro. Dunque, non è vero ch'alcun ente ama non esser quel ch'è. E pur chi desidera esser re o duca, non invero lo desidera, perché desiderebbe mutarsi in altro; e non può esser due. Talché s'adempie il desio in quanto è per similitudine intesa e amata, e non in quanto non è, né vuol esser,

mutato. Però il savio, che tutte cose sa, è tutte cose, senza mutarsi.

firewood resists change, and then delights
15 in being sparks. Love, virtue, and sense
of one's own being all leave their marks,
as much as necessary, according to their great Author.

MADRIGAL 3³

1 Man was a baby, embryo, seed, and blood,
bread, plant, and other things, which he liked
to be when he was such, and disliked changing into
what he is now: and that which now worries him,
5 to be made fire, earth, mouse, or eel,
he will eventually like; and he will believe himself blessed
in what he will be, since in all beings shines
the divine idea, and then he will forget.
So nothing loves what it seems to love:
10 some suffer or do,
what its Being knows best to give it.
That one may be another, all resist. He who wants
to be duke, is, in as much as he is like one or produces
that image, whence he loves that; and he is not a duke, in as much
15 as he detests ruining himself to become duke. Then
there is yet another one, who is yet another one;
the wise one is all of them, while still not changed by death.

3. In order to understand this, read the second book of the second part of the *Metaphysics*. For example, the passage shows that while a thing is like man, in as much as he is animal, it enjoys its being and does not want to change its state of being. Thus it is understandable that, when it was a different being, like bread, it did not want to become the flesh of man; and now that it is, it likes its new state. Thus after death, man will not mind being another being, though now he dislikes becoming that, and then he will want to become a worm that is born of our body. This pleasure comes because the divine idea shines in everything and because it receives forgetfulness of a better past being and ignorance of its future one. Thus, it is not true that some being does not wish to be what it is. Even one who desires to be king or duke, does not really desire it

because he would desire then changing into another; and he cannot be both. So desire is fulfilled in as much as it is by similitude understood and loved and not in as much as it is, nor wants to be, changed. Thus the wise man who knows all things is all things without changing himself.

MADRIGALE 4⁴

- 1 Non fece gli enti per viver in loro,
 qual padre in figli o maestro ne' scolari;
 né per far mostra altrui delle sue pompe,
 ch'altri non vi era, e gli architetti rari
- 5 non mostran a una polce un gran lavoro,
 né cerca onor chi in sé non si corrompe.
 Or chi dira' perché, se 'l Senno Eterno
 di tanto arcano il velame non rompe?
 S' e' fu sempre, il niente non fu mai;
- 10 e tutti enti son rai
 del Primo, in cui trovai
 mondi, virtù e idee, nel suo interno
 fatti e rifatti in più fogge *ab aeterno*,
 nuove agli enti rifatti, a' fatti antiche;
- 15 figure ed ombre di sacre esistenze,
 chi nella Prima son una ed amiche,
 quantunque abbian tra lor varie apparenze.

4. Ogni ente genera un altro per immortalarsi in quello, non potendo in sé, o per fama, qual maestro ne' discepoli. Perché dunque fece Dio il mondo? Se tu dici: "Per mostrar la gloria sua," dimando: "A chi, se non ci era altro Dio?" Né si può dire: "Per mostrarlo a noi," ché non eravamo. E sendo noi come polci a rispetto suo, come può essere ch'a noi si avesse a manifestare? Tanto men, ch'onor è rimedio contra la morte, che a lui non tocca. Poi mostra che mai non fu il niente; e che gli enti tutti son raggi d'esso Ente; e che in Dio ci sono mondi infiniti e cose per idea, che, in quanti modi possono esser fatti e rifatti temporalmente, rilucono in lui eternamente; perché non solo sa quel ch'è, ma quel ch'è possibile ad essere secondo il suo potere, ch'è infinito e innumerabile. E come sono uno in lui, ecc.

MADRIGAL 4⁴

- 1 He did not make beings to live through them,
like a parent in children or a teacher in disciples;
nor to show another His grandeur,
since there was no other, and great architects
5 do not show to a flea their masterpiece,
nor does one seek honors who is not corrupted in oneself.
Now who will say why, if the eternal Intellect
does not tear away the veil of such arcane things?
If He always was, nothing never was;
10 and all beings are rays
of the First, in which I found
worlds, virtues, and ideas, within Him
made and remade in various guises *ab aeterno*,
new to the remade beings, made of ancient things;
15 figures and shadows of holy existences,
which in the First are one and harmonious,
despite how differing their appearances may be.

4. Every being generates another in order to immortalize itself in that other, not being able to do so in itself, or through fame, like a teacher in disciples. So why did God make the world? If you say: "In order to show His glory," I ask: "To whom, if there was no other God?" Nor can one say: "In order to show Himself to us," who were not yet. And being that we are like fleas compared to Him, how can it be that He wanted to show Himself to us? That honor is even less a counter to death, which does not touch Him. Then he shows that never was there nothingness; and that all the beings are rays of that Being; and that in God there are infinite worlds and things in idea that in so many ways can be made and remade temporally, shining in Him eternally; because not only does He know what He is, but also what it is possible for Him to be, according to His power, which is infinite and innumerable. And how I am one in Him, etc.

MADRIGALE 5⁵

- 1 Se 'l fuoco fosse infinito, la terra
non vi saria, o cosa confine e strana.
Se Dio è infinito ben, non si può dire
che vi sia morte o male o stigia tana,
5 se non per ben di chi e' per meglio serra.
Rispetto è, non essenza, il mal, se mire
dolce al capro, a noi amara la ginestra.
Se ta' rispetti averan da finire,
il caos sol d'ogni gioia poi s'imbeve,
10 come ferro riceve
il fuoco, e 'l freddo neve.
E questo è bello alla virtù maestra,
com'è bel che 'l distingue la sua destra.
Che maraviglia s'alcuno s'ammazzi?
15 Lo guida il fato con occulto incanto
per la gran vita, ove enno i mali e i pazzi
semitoni e metafore al suo canto.

MADRIGALE 6⁶

- 1 L'alme, in sepolcri portatili ed adri
chiuse, dubbie di morte fa ignoranza
d'esser futuro e del passato obbligo.

5. Pruova che, sendo Dio bene infinito, non ci è male, né dentro né fuor di lui, né morte, né inferno, se non in quanto è buono esso inferno e morte per punire il male, e perché d'una cosa nasca un'altra. Poi mostra che 'l male è solo rispetto a chi è male, ma non a Dio, né al tutto. E che ad un altro è bene quel che a noi è male. Poi dice che, se mancheranno gli rispetti, mancherà il male, e ogni cosa sarà una, perché il non essere eistingue le cose tra loro, che l'una non è l'altra. Dunque, il caos è tutto gioia, non vi essendo contrarietà, ma unità. E che a Dio, comunque sarà, sia bello; e che la distinzione e 'l male sono come semitoni e metafore, belle nel poema, bench' in sé vizi; e però s'uccide alcuno per fato a ben del tutto.

6. Rende ragion perché spiace il morire, sendo una morte la vita presente, e la trasmutazione facendosi spesso in meglio; e dice che l'alma sta nel corpo, suo sepolcro portatile e oscuro, e non sa il passato essere, né il futuro, e si contenta del presente; come molti galeotti e carcerati hanno a male d'uscire di tal vita infelice, perché non conoscono né sanno vivere in altra. Che l'alma dunque stia in sepolcro, lo pruova perché essa non vede se stessa; né quel che fa essa dentro il corpo sa, né come lo muove, forma e nutrica; e però esce a due pertugi, che sono gli occhi, e spia in altri dell'opere sue o del suo proprio essere. Questo fu detto ancora nella *Canzone del disprezzo della morte*.

MADRIGAL 5⁵

- 1 If fire were infinite, earth
would not be, nor would anything be similar or foreign.
If God is infinite good, one cannot say
that there is death or evil or Stygian lair,
5 except for the good of those whom He locks up.
By comparison, not in essence, is evil, as juniper
seems sweet to the goat, but bitter to us.
If such conditions are to have an end,
chaos alone will imbibe of every joy,
10 like iron receives
fire, and cold the snow.
And this is beautiful to the guiding virtue,
as it is beautiful that God's hand distinguish chaos
What marvel is it if one kills oneself?
15 Fate guides him with hidden enchantments
along the great life where evils and madmen are
semitones and metaphors to His song.

MADRIGAL 6⁶

- 1 God makes souls in their portable, dark,
closed tombs, doubtful about death,
ignorant of the future, and oblivious to the past.

5. He proves that God being infinite good, has no evil, neither within nor outside of Him, nor death, nor hell, if not in as much as hell itself is good, and death is to punish evil, and from one thing another is born. Then he shows that evil is only with respect to the one who is evil, but not to God, nor to the whole. To another something is good that to us is bad. Then he says that if all conditions are lacking, evil will be lacking, and every thing will be one because nonbeing distinguishes things from each other, that one thing is not another. Thus chaos is complete joy, since there are no contradictions, just unity. However chaos is, to God it is beautiful; and distinction and evil are like semitones and metaphors, lovely in the poem, even though in themselves they are vices. Thus one kills oneself according to fate for the good of all.

6. He gives a reason for why death is unpleasant, though the present life is a death, and transmutation often becomes something better. He says that the soul stays in the body, its portable and dark tomb, and does not know its past being, nor the future one, and is content with the present; as many galley slaves and prisoners take a disliking to leaving that wretched life, because they do not understand nor know how to live in another one. That the soul then remains in the tomb he proves because it does not see itself; nor does it know what it does inside the body, nor how it moves, forms, and nourishes it; and so it leaves from two portals that are the eyes, and spies in others its works or something of its own being. This was already said in the *Canzone del disprezzo della morte* (Song on scorning death).

Così più galeotti, per sconfidanza
 5 di miglior vita, e 'n prigion servi e ladri
 contentarsi, che uscir odian, vidi io.
 Or l'alma, che nel corpo opaco alberga,
 se stessa ignora, e l'altre vite, e Dio;
 onde per buchi stretti affaccia, e spia
 10 che cosa essa alma sia,
 come ivi e perché stia.
 Regge ella il corpo e nutre, e con sua verga
 guida; né sa in che modo il quieti e l'erga,
 ch' e' non traspare; ed essa è breve luce.
 15 Così chi opera al buio, sé non vede
 né l'opra sua; onde al balcon l'adduce,
 e mira in altri, argomenta e rivede.

MADRIGALE 7⁷

1 Se di piante e di bruti e gli uman spirti
 formano al buio ospizi tanto adorni,
 e gli reggon con arte a loro ignota,
 è forza che tu, Dio, che in lor soggiorni,
 5 gli guidi, e gli enti sien, per obbedirti,
 come penna a scrittor, ch'è cieca, e nota;
 o come e' il corpo all'alma, e l'alme all'Ente
 Primo, senza di cui non si fa iota.
 Esser, poter, saper, amar, far, sono
 10 passioni in noi e dono,
 ed azioni in Dio buono,
 che, amandose e sentendose, ama e sente
 tutte cose, che 'n lui son conoscente.
 Gode di lor comedia, ché la festa

7. Qui pruova che Dio sia in tutte cose,
 come autore e rettore di tutte le nostre
 operazioni. Che se l'alme delle piante e de'
 bruti animali formano allo scuro corpi con
 tanto magistero e simmetria, è forza dire
 che gli guida qualche senno, che tutto vede
 e può, come la penna è mossa dallo scrit-
 tore, E questo pure afferma san Tomaso,
 benché Scoto si discosti da lui. Nota che
 'l potere, il sapere, l'amore e l'essere in noi

sono dono d'altrui, e quasi passione: e 'n
 Dio solo azione e abbondanza. E che Dio,
 amando e conoscendo se stesso, e godendo
 di se stesso, dona a tutti gli enti la cono-
 scenza, l'amore e 'l gioire; e che si fa questa
 festa delle cose, o comedia, in Dio. Beato
 chi intende con pratica quel che si dice in
 questi versi!

Like many galley slaves and servants and thieves
 5 I have seen who, despairing of a better life,
 content themselves with prison, since they hate leaving it.
 Now the soul, that resides in the opaque body,
 is ignorant of itself, and other lives, and God;
 whence through narrow holes, it faces and spies
 10 what that soul really is,
 and how and why it remains there.
 The soul governs the body, and nourishes and guides it
 with its rod; nor does it know in what way it calms and incites it,
 since it does not shine through; and it is a brief light.
 15 Thus he who works in the dark, does not see himself
 nor his work; but at the balcony he learns
 and sees, disputes, and revises himself in others.

MADRIGAL 7⁷

1 If from plants and beasts human spirits
 form well-adorned hostels in the dark,
 and they maintain them with an art unknown to them,
 it is necessary that you, God, Who sojourn in them,
 5 guide them, and that their beings are, to obey You,
 like the pen does the writer: the pen is blind, but takes note;
 or like the body is to the soul, and the souls to the Prime
 Being, without Whom not one iota is made.
 Being, power, knowledge, love, and making are
 10 passions in us and a gift,
 and actions in God, Who is good.
 Loving and sensing Himself, He loves and senses
 all things that in Him are known.
 He enjoys their comedy, since the celebration

7. Here he proves that God is in all things, like author and rector of all our operations. That if the souls of plants and brute animals form bodies with such majesty and symmetry in darkness, it must be said that some intellect guides them, which sees all and is capable, like the pen is moved by the writer. St. Thomas also affirms this, though Scotus distanced himself from him. He notes that power, knowledge, love, and

being in us are gifts of Another, almost like passion. Only in God do we have action and abundance. God, loving and knowing Himself, and delighting in Himself, gives knowledge, love, and pleasure to all the beings; and one partakes of this celebration of things, or comedy, in God. Blessed is the one who understands through experience that which is said in these verses!

- 15 fan dentro a lui; e da lor gioia non prende;
ma e', gioiando, a lor la dona, e presta
senso ed amor, mentr' e' s'ama e s'intende.

MADRIGALE 8⁸

- 1 Ma noi, finiti, anzi in prigion, prendiamo
di fuor, da chi ci batte le pareti,
ov'entra per vie strette, il saper corto
e falso, onde voi, falsi amor, nasceti.
- 5 Quinci aer, terra e sol morti stimiamo,
chi han libero il sentir, non, qual noi, morto;
e però amiam chi in carcere ci serba,
e chi ci rende al Cielo odiamo a torto.
Burle, onde 'l Fato i nostri e i solar fuochi
- 10 ritiene in stretti luochi,
quanto è uopo a' suoi giuochi.
Mai non si muore: godi, alma superba!
l'oblio d'antica ti fa sempr'acerba.
Oh, felice colui, che sciolto e puro
- 15 senso ha, per giudicar di tutte vite!
Che, unito a Dio, per tutto va sicuro,
senza temer di morte né di Dite.

8. Altamente séguita a dar la differenza tra noi e Dio, dicendo che noi siamo finiti e non infiniti, carcerati nel corpo e non liberi: però, non come Dio da sé, ma prendiamo il sapere dalle cose che battono le mura del nostro carcere, ove ci entra per stretta via de' sensi. Tutte le mura sono il tatto; gli altri sensi sono forami. E che di questo saper corto e falso nasce amor corto di cose poco buone, e falso ancora, e un giudicio, che non abbia sapere chi non sta carcerato come noi; onde stimiamo insensati il cielo e la terra. E questo è una burla, che ci fa il Fato, perché non vogliamo morire fin quando pare a lui per ben del tutto. Poi parla all'anima superba, che sta lieta che non si muore; e pone la felicità in chi sa giudicare tutte le vite, e a Dio s'unisce, e seco tutto vede, può e ama, e s'assicura dalla morte e dall'Inferno, accostatosi all'immorale Sommo Bene.

- 15 is made inside Him; and He does not take joy away from them;
but, rejoicing, gives it back to them, and lends
sense and love, while He loves and understands Himself.

MADRIGAL 8⁸

- 1 But we, finite beings, actually in prisons, take
what is outside of us, from that which batters our walls,
where through narrow passages only a little false knowledge
enters, from which you, false loves, are born.
5 Thus air, earth, and sun we believe are dead,
at least those who are free to perceive, not the dead, like us;
and yet we love those who keep us in prison,
and wrongly hate those who refer us to Heaven.
Fate plays tricks on us to retain
10 our vital spirits,
as much as is necessary for His games.
Oh proud soul, rejoice, since one never dies!
The oblivion of old still makes you bitter.
Oh, blessed is the one who is free and has
15 the pure sense to judge all lives!
So, united to God, he goes securely
without fearing death nor Dis.

8. Loftily he follows by citing the difference between God and us, saying that we are finite and not infinite, imprisoned in our body and not free: thus, we are unlike God in Himself, but we take knowledge of things that strike the walls of our cell, where knowledge enters by means of the narrow passage of the senses. Touch forms all the walls; the other senses are holes. And from this brief and false knowledge is born the brief and false love of things of little good, and a judgment that nobody can know if not imprisoned like we are; so we think heaven and earth are insensate. And this is a joke that fate plays on us so that we will not want to die until it seems to Him to be for the good of all. Then he speaks to the proud soul that it remain happy because it is not going to die; and puts happiness in those who know how to judge all the lives, and God unites all, and sees all with Himself, he

can and loves. One protects oneself against death and Hell by moving closer to the immortal Highest Good.

- 1 Canzon, riconosciamo contra gli empi
 l'Autor dell'universo, confessando
 belle, buone e felici l'opre sue
 tutte, in quanto ed a lui sono ed al tutto
 5 parti, rispetti e frutto
 sì giusto, ch'un sol atomo mutando,
 girà in scompiglio. E sempre fia chi fue;
 dal che farsi contento,
 più che non sa volere, ogn'ente io sento:
 10 come tutti direm con stupor, quando
 di Lete aperto fia il gran sacramento.

35 Che 'l principe tristo non è mente della Repubblica sua¹

- 1 Mentola al comun corpo è quel, non mente,
 che da noi, membra, a sé tutte raccoglie
 sostanze e gaudi, e non fatiche e doglie:
 ch'esausti n'ha, come cicale spente.
 5 Almen, come Cupido, dolcemente

9. In questo stupendo commiato conchiude che non ci sia male né bruttezza, se non rispettiva tra l'una parte e l'altra, ma non al tutto, a cui, ecc. Dice pure che tanto bene è aggiustato l'universo, ch'un solo atomo mutandosi, tutto si scompiglierebbe, come un orologio. Questo vedi nella *Metafisica*. Poi dice: "sempre fia quel che fue," con Salomone: "*Quid est quod futurum est, nisi quod factum est?*" E che però ogni ente è immortale in qualche guisa, ché solo si muta, non s'annicchila. E che però gli enti sono più contenti che non sanno volere, poiché in tante vite vivono per successione, nel tutto una. E che, quando sarà aperto il sacramento del fiume dell'oblio, detto Lete da' poeti, tutti confesseremo questa verità: ma, fra tanto che questo segreto è ascoso, ci par morire, perché nullo ente si ricorda quel che

fue; e tutti, morendo, passano per Lete, cioè per oblio.

1. Arguto e dotto modo di mostrare che il principe epicureo macchiavellesco è mentola, e non mente, del corpo della Repubblica, secondo dovrebbe essere, come gli filosofi dicono; se bene l'autore dice che il re è cuore o testa, ma anima è la religione, contra Aristotile, nel libro della *Monarchia del Messia*. Questo sonetto vuol attenzione. Nota con che arguzia dice che la mentola di Cupido almeno dà gusto, se ben c'inganna con falso gusto per tórce la sostanza e far altri uomini di quella; ma il principe tristo ci mangia con disgusto, e senza speme di frutto; pensa, perch'è cieco, senza lingua e senza orecchie.

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- 1 Song, we recognize, contrary to the impious,
the Author of the universe, confessing as
beautiful, good, and blessed all of His
works, in as much as they are His. The parts,
5 conditions, and fruits are to the Whole
so just that changing one atom alone
would turn all upside down. And He Who was, may He always be;
from Whom every being, I sense, is made
more content than it knows how to wish:
10 like everyone else we will speak in wonder, when
out of Lethe is opened the great sacrament.

35 That the Evil Prince is Not the Mind of His Republic¹

- 1 The dickhead of the common body, not the head,
is that member of ours who takes for himself
all the riches and joys, not the toils and pains,
which he has exhausted like spent cicadas.
5 If only, like Cupid, he teased us

9. In this stupendous envoy he concludes that there is no evil nor ugliness, except when one part is compared to another, but not to the whole, to Whom, etc. He also says that this good is adapted to the universe, since a single atom mutating itself would throw into disarray the whole, like a clock. See the *Metaphysics* on this point. Then he says, “let what was always be,” with Solomon: “*Quid est quod futurum est, nisi quod factum est?*” And so every being is immortal in some way, that it only changes and is not destroyed. Thus the beings are content that do not know how to will, since they live in succession so many lives, one in the whole. And that, when the sacrament of the river of forgetfulness is opened, called Lethe by the poets, everyone will confess this truth: but in the meantime while this secret is hidden, it seems like death to us,

because no being remembers what was, and all, dying, pass through the Lethe, that is, oblivion.

1. A witty and learned way to show that the Machiavellian Epicurean prince is the dickhead, not the head or mind of the body of the Republic, as he should be, according to what the philosophers say, even though the author says against Aristotle in his book *The Monarchy of the Messiah* that the king is the heart or head, but religion is the soul. This sonnet deserves attention. Note with what wit he states that Cupid’s dick at least gives pleasure, even though it deceives us with false pleasure in order to wrench the substance from us and make other men from it; but the evil prince consumes us with disgust, and without the hope of fruitfulness. Think—because it is blind, without tongue or ears.

ci burlasse, che 'n grembo della moglie
getta il sangue e 'l vigor, che da noi toglie,
struggendo noi, per far novella gente.

Ma, con inganno spiacevole, in vaso
10 li sparge o in terra, onde non puoi sperare
alcuna ricompensa al mortal caso.

Corpo meschin, cui mente ha da guidare
piccola in capo piccolin, ch'ha naso,
ma non occhi, né orecchie, né parlare.

36 Agl'Italiani, che attendono a poetar con le favole greche

Canzone

MADRIGALE 1

1 Grecia, tre spanne di mar, che, di terra
cinto, superbia non potea mostrare,
solcò per l'aureo vello conquistare
e Troia con più inganni e poca guerra;
5 poi tutto 'l mondo attera
di favole, e di lui succhia ogni laude.
Ma Italia, che l'applaude,
contra se stessa e contra Dio quant'erra!¹
Ella, che mari e terra, senza fraude,
10 con senno ed armi in tutto il mondo ottenne,
e del Cielo alle chiavi alfin pervenne!²

MADRIGALE 2

1 Cristoforo Colombo, audace ingegno,
fa fra due mondi a Cesare ed a Cristo
ponte, e dell'oceano immenso acquisto.
Vince di matematici il ritegno,

1. Si duole l'autore che gli Italiani cantano le bugie de' Greci, e non le sue veritadi. Non cantano gli Greci altro che l'impresa dell'aureo vello e di Troia con falsità.

2. Le chiavi di san Piero in Roma: che, dopo essere stata padrona del mondo terreno, si stima ora esser del celeste.

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sweetly, spurting into his wife's lap
the blood and vigor, that he takes from us,
destroying us to make new people.

But with nasty deceit, in a piss pot he strews them
10 or on the ground, where you cannot hope
for any compensation for the mortal case.

Wretched body, which has a mind so small
to guide it in a very small head that has a nose,
but no eyes nor ears nor speech.

36 To the Italians Who Seek to Versify with Greek Fables

Song

MADRIGAL 1

1 Greece crossed three spans of sea, which,
surrounded by land could not vaunt its pride,
to conquer the Golden Fleece
and Troy through many deceptions and a bit of war;
5 then brought down the whole world
with its fables and draws all praise from Greece.
But how much Italy, which applauds it,
errs against herself and against God!¹
Italy gained seas and lands in all the world
10 without fraud, with intellect and arms,
and in the end attained the keys to Heaven!²

MADRIGAL 2

1 Christopher Columbus, daring genius,
bridges the two worlds of Caesar and Christ,
and conquers the immense ocean.
He triumphs over the restraint of mathematicians,

1. The author grieves that Italians sing
the lies of the Greeks and not their own
truths. The Greeks did not sing of anything
except the exploits of the Golden Fleece
and of Troy through fictions.

2. The keys of St. Peter in Rome: having
been guardian of the earthly world, now
Italy esteems herself to be that of heaven.

- 5 de' poeti il disegno,
de' fisici e teologi, e le prove
d'Ercol, Nettunno e Giove.
E pur vil Tifi in ciel gli usurpa il regno,³
né par che a tanto eroe visto aver giove
10 e corso più con la corporea salma,
che col pensier veloce altri dell'alma,⁴

MADRIGALE 3

- 1 A un nuovo mondo dà nome, Americo,⁵
nato nel nido de' scrittori illustri,⁶
che tu, vie più che gli altri, adorni e illustri;
né pur poeta hai di tua gloria amico.
5 Ché 'l favoloso intrico
de' falsi greci dèi e mentiti eroi
tutti gli ha fatti suoi.
Caton predisse questo velo antico
10 che Grecia oppone, o Italia, agli occhi tuoi,⁷
che assicura gli barbari a predarne
l'arme, la gloria, lo spirto e la carne.

MADRIGALE 4

- 1 I gran dottor della legislatura
Giano, Saturno, Pitagora e Numa,
Vertunno, Lucumon, la dea di Cuma,
Timeo, e altri infiniti chi gli oscura?⁸
5 Italia, sepoltura
de' lumi suoi, d'esterni candliere;
ond'oggi ancor non chiere

3. Tifi fu quel nocchiere famoso degli Argonauti, che andârò al vello d'oro.

4. Più vide Cristofano Colombo, genovese, con gli occhi, e più col corpo corse, che non fecero gli poeti, filosofi e teologi, Augustino e Lattanzio, con la mente, che negârò l'antipodi.

5. Americo Vespucci, fiorentino, dopo Colombo navigò e scoperse tutta la terra ferma del nuovo mondo, e la chiamò "America" da sé.

6. Firenze è nido de' scrittori acuti e industriosi: poeti, oratori, filosofi, ecc.

7. Caton predisse che Grecia con sue fallacie, come Plinio narra, avea a rovinar l'Europa.

8. Nomina i legislatori d'Italia e gli filosofi antichi.

- 5 the design of poets,
of physicists, and theologians, and the labors
of Hercules, Neptune, and Zeus.
But even vile Tiphys usurps his kingdom in heaven.³
Nor does it seem to matter that such a hero
10 has seen and crossed with his corporeal flesh what others
have done only with the fleeting thought of their soul?⁴

MADRIGAL 3

- 1 You give your name to a new world, Amerigo,⁵
born in the nest of illustrious writers,⁶
which you more than others adorn and make great;
but you do not have even one poet friend of your glory.
5 The poet has made the fabled
tangle of false Greek gods and shams
of heroes all his own.
Cato predicted this ancient veil,
10 which Greece puts before your eyes, oh Italy,⁷
would assure that barbarians prey on
your arms, glory, spirit, and flesh.

MADRIGAL 4

- 1 Who obscures the great doctors of law
Janus, Saturn, Pythagoras, Numa,
Vertumnus, Lucumon, the goddess of Cumae,
Timaeus and infinite others?⁸
5 Italy, sepulcher
of your luminaries, light-bearer to outsiders;
even today does not weep for

3. Tiphys was that famous helmsman of the Argonauts who went after the Golden Fleece.

4. Christopher Columbus of Genoa saw more with his eyes and went with his body more places than did poets, philosophers, and theologians with their minds, and Augustine and Lactantius, too, who denied the antipodes.

5. The Florentine Amerigo Vespucci navigated and discovered the mainland of

the new world and named it "America" after himself.

6. Florence is the nest of keen and prolific writers: poets, orators, philosophers, etc.

7. Cato predicted that Greece with its falsehoods, as Pliny narrates, would ruin Europe.

8. He names the lawmakers of Italy and the ancient philosophers.

il Consentin, splendor della natura,⁹
per amor d'un Schiavone; e sempre fere
10 con nuovi affanni quel di cui l'aurora
gli antichi occupa, e Stilo ingrato onora.¹⁰

MADRIGALE 5

1 Privata invidia ed interesse infetta
Italia mia; né di servir si smaga
chi d'ignoranza e discordia la paga,
e la propria salute le ha interdetta:
5 virtù ascosta e negletta
a te medesima, e nota a tutt 'l mondo
sotto 'l bello e giocondo
latino imperio, che di gente eletta
fu in lettere ed in arme più fecondo
10 che l'universo tutto quanto insieme
con verità, ch'or sotto 'l falso geme.

MADRIGALE 6¹¹

1 Locri, Tarento, Sibari e Crotone,
Sannio, Capua, Firenze, Reggio e Chiuse,
Genova e l'altre, di gloria deluse,
fa da sé ognuna a Grecia paragone;
5 Roma no, che s'opponne
a tutto 'l mondo insieme, a tutte cose:
ma pur le favolose
o vere laudi greche a sé pospone
Venezia, onor di virgini e di spose:
10 nuota in mar, rugge in terra e vola in cielo,
pesce, leon alato col Vangelo.

9. Il Telesio proibito fu per invidia
d'alcuni, "*donec expurgetur*," ecc.

10. Son più che venti anni che sempre è
travagliato esso autore da invidi, con carceri
e persecuzioni, per ben fare a chi non merita
e pe' peccati suoi ancora. Egli è da Stilo,
città di Calabria, a cui, ecc.

11. Mostra che ogni città di queste si
può agguagliare a tutta Grecia, e Roma al
mondo. Chi sa le istorie, ne giudichi. Dice
che Venezia pure lascia dietro a sé tutte le
laudi di Grecia per virtù politica, le armi
e dottrine, e per essere miraculosa: ch'è
pesce in mare, rugge in terra come leone, e
fa l'insegna del leon di san Marco, e tiene il
Vangelo, che illumina il mondo.

Telesio of Cosenza, splendor of nature,⁹
for love of a Stagiran; and still preys
10 with new sufferings on the one whose dawn obscures
the ancients, and honors his ungrateful Stilo.¹⁰

MADRIGAL 5

1 Private envy and interests infect
my Italy; nor does she elude serving
anyone who pays her with ignorance and discord,
and deprives her of her own health.
5 Your virtue, Italy, which you hide
and neglect, is known to the whole world
through the lovely and prosperous
Latin empire, which was truly of chosen people
in letters and in arms more prolific
10 than all the universe put together,
which now trembles under the false.

MADRIGAL 6¹¹

1 Lodi, Taranto, Bari, Crotone,
Siena, Capua, Florence, Reggio, Syracuse,
Genoa, and others deprived of glory,
each by itself equals Greece;
5 but not Rome, which rivals
in all things the whole world put together.
But even the fables or true praises of Greece trail
Venice, honor of virgins and brides:
she swims in the sea, roars on land,
10 and flies in heaven,
fish and winged lion with the Gospel.

9. Telesio was prohibited because of the envy of some, "*donec expurgetur*," etc.

10. This author has constantly been tormented with confinement and persecutions due to the envy of others for more than twenty years now for doing good to those who do not deserve it and for his sins as well. He is from Stilo, a city in Calabria, etc.

11. He shows that each of these cities is equal to all of Greece, and Rome to the world. Anyone who knows the histories should be the judge. He says that Venice far outstrips all the praises of Greece because of her political virtue, arms, and doctrine, and for being miraculous: because she is at once a fish in the sea, she roars on the earth like a lion, instructs as the lion of St. Mark, and keeps the Gospel that illuminates the world.

MADRIGALE 7¹²

- 1 Ercole e Giove rubba e gli altri dèi
Grecia e lor gesti d'Assiria e d'Egitto:
e poi l'impres e nomi anc'have ascritto
a vil tebani, cretensi ed achei.
- 5 Tu, che verace sei,
Platon, ciò affermi; e le scienze, ch'ella
falsamente sue appella,
confusi i tempi e l'istorie da lei
falsificate ammira; e sé, novella,
- 10 mentir non dubbia aver principio e nome
dato alle genti di canute chiome.

MADRIGALE 8

- 1 Se l'altre nazion, con più vergogna
spesso Italia a tal favole sottoscrisse;
cui legge ed arti e sacrifici disse
Noè, che Giano fu senza menzogna.
- 5 Chi più intender agogna,
sien Fabi o Scipi o altri, ecco una sola
romulea famigliola
di numero e virtude, a quanti sogna
eroi Grecia cantando, sopravola.
- 10 Generosi Latini, i vostri esempi
sien vostra tèma contra i falsi e gli empi.

12. Ercole fu libico, dico l'eroe: Giove fu assirio, e gli Greci se gli usurpano a sé, facendogli di Tebe e di Candia; così gli altri dèi, ecc. Platone dice: "*Graeci, semper estis pueri*," ecc. E che sono novelli, e si fanno autori del mondo; che Pirra e Deucalione, ecc. Questi furono Noè e Rea, ecc. Mira le storie greche fallaci. "*Quicquid Graecia mendax audet in historiis*," ecc., dice Giovenale. Chi legge sa quanto gli Greci hanno rovinato il mondo con le favole loro. Dalle *Antichità* di Giuseppe si corregge la perversità de' Greci, ecc.

MADRIGAL 7¹²

- 1 Greece robbed Hercules and Jove
and the other gods of Assyria and Egypt of their deeds:
and then ascribed their own names and exploits
to the base Thebans, Cretans, and Achaeans.
- 5 You who are truthful,
Plato, affirm this; but you confuse the temples
and sciences that Greece falsely calls her own,
and admires through the falsified histories
attributed to her; and Greece, though young,
10 does not doubt the lie of having her origin and name
given by the people of white locks.

MADRIGAL 8

- 1 Other nations accepted these fables,
but that Italy often did, brings greater shame,
since she received laws, arts, and sacrifices from
Noah, who was Janus without a doubt.
- 5 For the one who wishes to understand more,
just take any small family descended from
Romulus—the Fabios, Scipios, or others—
it by far surpasses he who dreams
of singing all those invented Greek heroes.
- 10 Generous Latins, let your own examples
be your themes against the false and the impious.

12. Hercules the hero was Libyan, Jove was Assyrian, but the Greeks took them for their own making them from Thebes and Candia; and in like manner appropriated the other gods, etc. Plato says: "*Graeci, semper estis pueri*," etc. The Greeks are newcomers, yet they make themselves authors of the world; Pyrrha and Deucalion, etc. These were Noah and Rhea, etc. See how the Greek histories are deceptive. "*Quicquid Graecia mendax audet in historiis*," etc., says Juvenal. Anyone who reads knows how much the Greeks have ruined the world with their fables. With Joseph's *Antiquities*, one can correct the perversity of the Greeks, etc.

37 D'Italia¹

- 1 La gran donna, ch'a Cesare comparse
sul Rubicon, temendo a sé rovina
dall'introdotta gente pellegrina,
onde 'l suo imperio pria crescer apparse:
5 sta con le membra sue lacere e sparse
e co' crin mozzi, in servitù meschina.
Né già si vede per l'onor di Dina
Simeone o Levi più vergognarse.
Or, se Gierusalemme a Nazarette
10 non ricorre, o ad Atene, ove ragione,
o celeste o terrestre, prima stette,
non fiorirà chi 'l primo onor le done;
ché ogni Erode è straniero, e mal promette
serbar il seme della redenzione.

44 De' medesima¹

- 1 Nessun ti verrà a dire: "Io son sofista";
ma di perfidie la scuola più fina
larve e bugie sottil dà per dottrina,
e vuol esser tenuta evangelista.
5 Ma l'Aretino con sua setta trista,
che bevetter di cinici in cantina,

1. Questo sonetto è fatto perché l'intendano pochi; né io voglio dichiararlo. L'istoria di questa donna, che comparse a Cesare in visione, passando il Rubicon, fiume di Cesena, per venir contra il senato, è Italia col capo suo, Roma. L'istoria di Dina sverginata da Sichem e vendicata da Simeon e Levi, figliuoli di Giacob, che dinotano il sacerdozio e 'l popular dominio, sta nel *Genesi*, e oggi, ecc. "Gierusalem" vuol dire vision di pace, e Roma è suo figurato. "Nazaret" vuol dir fiore, e "Atene" similmente. *Qui legit intelligat*. Vedi Dante,

in *Paradiso*, canto IX. Erode, perché finse serbar il seme, ecc.

1. Coll'esempio dell'Aretino, che fu scelerato scoperto, e prese il bene e 'l male in un fascio per scherzo, e non vendette la sua scelerataggine per santità, ma per quel ch'era, mostra che sono più tristi gli ipocriti, che fingono santità per ingannare, e non vogliono che la lor arte si scuopra, e vorrebbero tutti libri che avvertiscono i loro vizi essere spenti. Questo dice anche san Gregorio nel *Pastorale*.

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37 On Italy¹

- 1 The great lady who appeared before Caesar
at the Rubicon, fearing her ruin
from the wandering people who crept in there,
where her empire first seemed to grow:
5 remains with her members lacerated and
her shorn locks strewn about, wretched in bondage.
Nor can one see yet a Simeon or Levi
to avenge the shame on Dinah's honor.
 Now, if Jerusalem does not appeal
10 to Nazareth or to Athens, where
heavenly and earthly reason first dwelled,
 the one who showed her the greatest honor will not flower;
because every Herod is a foreigner and promises badly
to keep the seed of the redemption.

44 On the Same [Against Sophists, Hypocrites, Heretics, and False Miracle Workers]¹

- 1 No one will come to you saying: "I am a sophist";
but the finest school of treachery
passes shadows and subtle lies for doctrine
and wants to be esteemed an evangelist.
5 But Aretino with his wretched sect,
which imbibed the cynics in the pub,

1. This sonnet is written in such a way that few will understand it; nor do I want to explain it. The story of this lady who appeared before Caesar in a vision while he was crossing the Rubicon, the river of Cesena, to come against the senate, is Italy with Rome as its head. The story of Dinah deflowered by Shechem and vindicated by Simeon and Levi, the sons of Jacob, who denote the priesthood and the popular dominion, is in Genesis, and today, etc. "Jerusalem" stands for the vision of peace, and Rome is its figuration. "Nazareth" means

flower, and "Athens" likewise. *Qui legit intelligat*. See Dante, in *Paradise*, canto IX. Herod, because he feigned preserving the seed, etc.

1. With this example of Aretino, who was openly wicked and mixed good and evil as a joke, and who did not pass off his wickedness as sanctity but for what it was, he shows that hypocrites who feign sanctity in order to deceive are the more evil ones. They also do not want their art to be revealed, and they would like all books that warn against their vices to be burned. St. Gregory also says this in his *Pastorale*.

di sue ciarle mostrando fiori e spina,
 di bene e mal ci fa tutto una lista,
 per giuoco, non per fraude; ed ha a vergogna
 10 parer men tristo degli altri, c'han doglia
 che di tant'arte si scuopra la fogna;
 onde serran le bocche altrui, e si spoglia
 ognor il libro, e veste di menzogna,
 citato in testimon contro lor voglia.

46 Il "Pater Noster"

Orazione di Giesù Cristo

1 Padre, che stai nel ciel, santificato
 perché sia il nome tuo, venga oramai
 il regno tuo; che in terra sia osservato
 il tuo voler, sì come in ciel fatto hai.
 5 E 'l cibo all'alma ed al corpo pregiato
 danne oggi; e ci perdona obblighi e guai,
 come noi perdoniamo agli altri ancora.
 Né ci tentar; ma d'ogni mal siam fuora.

49 Sonetto de l'istesso¹

1 Allor potrete orar con ogni istanza
 che venga il regno, ove il divin volere,
 come si fa nelle celesti sfere,
 si faccia in terra e frutti ogni speranza.
 5 Ché i poeti vedran l'età ch'avanza

1. In questo terzo sonetto per consonanza di voce e di soggetto dice che potremo pregare: "*Adveniat regnum tuum, ut voluntas tua fiat in terra, sicut fit in Coelo,*" quando tornassimo alla figliolanza per mezzo del Senno, e che gli desideri d'ogni nazione e professione saranno adempiti; che

gli poeti vedranno il secolo d'oro da lor cantato, e gli filosofi lo stato *de optima republica* da essi descritta, e gli profeti Israel liberato da Babilonia con più miracoli dell'esito d'Egitto, secondo che scrive Isaia ed Ezechiele. Vedi gli *Articoli profetali* dell'autore.

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shows both the flowers and the thorn of its gossiping
 and leaves us a whole catalog of good and evil
 as a joke, not a fraud. Because of his shame,
 10 he seems less wretched than the others who take pains
 not to show the cesspool of their art;
 whence they seal the mouths of others, yet spoil
 the book by wrapping it in a veil of lies
 cited in testimony against their will.

46 The “Our Father” Prayer of Jesus Christ

1 Father, who are in heaven, hallowed
 may Your name be, now may Your kingdom
 come; may Your will on earth be observed,
 as You made it in heaven.
 5 And the food, precious to our soul and body,
 give us today; and forgive us our debts and woes,
 as we also forgive others.
 Tempt us not; but let us be of every evil freed.

49 Sonnet on the Same [on the “Our Father”]¹

1 You will then be able to pray with every right
 that the kingdom come, where divine will
 shall fulfill every hope on earth
 as it does in the celestial spheres.
 5 That poets will see the age that surpasses

1. In this third sonnet of consonant voice and subject, he says that we will pray: “*Adveniat regnum tuum, ut voluntas tua fiat in terra, sicut fit in Coelo,*” so that we can return to be children of Him by means of the Intellect, and that the desires of every nation and profession be fulfilled; that the poets

will see the golden age sung by them, and the philosophers, a state *de optima republica* described by them, and the prophets, Israel liberated from Babylon with more miracles than the flight out of Egypt, according to what Isaiah and Ezechiel write. See the author’s *Prophetic Articles*.

ogn'altra, come l'òr tutte minere;
e 'l secolo innocente, che si chere
ch'Adam perdéo, darà la pia possanza.

10 Goderanno i filosofi quel stato
che d'ottima repubblica han descritto,
che in terra ancora mai non s'è trovato;
e i profeti in Sion, fuor di dispetto,
lieto Israel da Babilon salvato,
con più stupor che l'esito d'Egitto.

60 Al carcere¹

1 Come va al centro ogni cosa pesante
dalla circonferenza, e come ancora
in bocca al mostro che poi la devora,
donnola incorre timente e scherzante;
5 così di gran scienza ognuno amante,
che audace passa dalla morta gora
al mar del vero, di cui s'innamora,
nel nostro ospizio alfin ferma le piante.
Ch'altri l'appella "antro di Polifemo,"
10 "palazzo" altri "d'Atlante," e chi "di Creta
il laberinto," e chi "l'inferno estremo"
(ché qui non val favor, saper, né pièta),
io ti so dir; del resto, tutto tremo,
ch'è ròcca sacra a tirannia segreta.

61 Di se stesso

1 Sciolto e legato, accompagnato e solo,
gridando, cheto, il fiero stuol confondo:
folle all'occhio mortal del basso mondo,
saggio al Senno divin dell'alto polo.

1. È chiaro.

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1. È chiaro.

every other, as gold does all other metals;
and the innocent age, which is desired and
Adam lost, will give the pious power.

10 The philosophers will enjoy that state
that they described as the best republic,
which has not yet been found on earth;
and the prophets in Zion, without spite,
will enjoy blessed Israel saved from Babylon
with more wonder than the flight out of Egypt.

60 In Prison¹

1 As every heavy thing falls to the center
from the circumference, and as yet
the weasel runs fearful and playfully into
the mouth of the toad that then devours it;
5 so each lover of great knowledge
who passes boldly from the stagnant pond
to the sea of truth with which he falls in love,
in the end sets foot in our cell.
That some call it the “cave of Polyphemus,”
10 others “Atlante’s palace,” still others
“the labyrinth of Crete,” and some the “pit of hell”
(since here neither favor nor knowledge nor pity avails),
I can tell you; besides I tremble to the core,
because this is the sacred fortress of secret tyranny.

61 On Himself

1 Freed and chained, accompanied and alone,
screaming, quiet, I confuse the fierce crowd:
mad to the mortal eye of the lowly world,
wise to the divine Intellect of the celestial pole.

1. It is clear.

- 5 Con vanni in terra oppressi al ciel men volo,
in mesta carne d'animo giocondo;
e, se talor m'abbassa il grave pondo,
l'ale pur m'alzan sopra il duro suolo.
 La dubbia guerra fa le virtù cónte.
- 10 Breve è verso l'eterno ogn'altro tempo,
e nulla è più leggier ch'un grato peso.¹
 Porto dell'amor mio l'imago in fronte,
sicuro d'arrivar lieto, per tempo,
ove io senza parlar sia sempre inteso.²

62 Di se stesso, quando,¹ ecc.

- 1 D'Italia in Grecia ed in Libia scorse,
bramando libertà, Catone il giusto;
né potendo saziarsene a suo gusto,
sino alla morte volontaria corse.
- 5 E 'l sagace Annibàl, quando s'accorse
che schifar non potea l'imperio augusto,
l'anima col velen svelse dal busto.
Onde anche Cleopatra il serpe morse.
 Fece il medesmo un santo Maccabeo;
- 10 Bruto e Solon furor finto coperse,
e Davide, temendo il re geteo.
 Però, là dove Iona si sommerse
trovandosi, l'Astratto,² quel che feo
al santo Senno in sacrificio offerse.

1. Mira quante contrapposizioni sono in questo sonetto!

2. In paradiso non si parla se non con l'intendenza. Vedi la *Metafisica*.

1. Quando bruciò il letto e divenne pazzo, o vero o finto. "*Stultitias simulare in loco, prudentia est,*" disse il Comico; e *de iure gentium* i pazzi son salvi. L'istorie di questo sonetto sono assai e note.

2. Essendo condannato a' remi, ecc.

- 5 Con vanni in terra oppressi al ciel men volo,
in mesta carne d'animo giocondo;
e, se talor m'abbassa il grave pondo,
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 Però, là dove Iona si sommerse
trovandosi, l'Astratto,² quel che feo
al santo Senno in sacrificio offerse.

1. Mira quante contrapposizioni sono in questo sonetto!

2. In paradiso non si parla se non con l'intendenza. Vedi la *Metafisica*.

1. Quando bruciò il letto e divenne pazzo, o vero o finto. "*Stultitias simulare in loco, prudentia est,*" disse il Comico; e *de iure gentium* i pazzi son salvi. L'istorie di questo sonetto sono assai e note.

2. Essendo condannato a' remi, ecc.

- 5 With wings clipped on earth, I fly to heaven
in sad flesh but of rejoicing soul;
and, if sometimes the heavy weight pulls me down,
my wings, though, lift me above the hard ground.
 Dubious war makes virtues manifest.
- 10 Every other time is short compared to eternity,
and nothing is lighter than a welcome weight.¹
 I wear the image of my love on my forehead,
assured of arriving blessed, on time,
where I may always be understood without speaking.²

62 On Himself, When,¹ etc.

- 1 From Italy to Greece and on to Libya
Cato the Just went seeking liberty;
and not being able to get his fill of it,
he even hastened willfully his own death.
- 5 And the clever Hannibal, when he realized
that he could not wear out the august empire,
stripped his soul from his breast with poison.
Likewise Cleopatra let the serpent bite.
 A Maccabean saint did the same;
- 10 a feigned madness came over Brutus and Solomon,
and David also, fearing the king of Gath.
 But there where Jonah found himself submerged,
the Abstract² offered in sacrifice
what I give to the holy Intellect.

1. See how many paradoxes are in this sonnet!

2. In paradise one does not speak except by intuition. See the *Metaphysics*.

1. When he burned his bed and went insane, either truly or pretendingly. "*Stultitias simulare in loco, prudentia est*," said the Comic; and *de iure gentium*, the insane are saved. The facts behind this sonnet are many and well known.

2. Having been condemned to the oars, etc.

63 A certi amici ufficiali e baroni, che,
per troppo sapere, o di poco governo
o di fellonia l'inculpavano¹

- 1 Non è brutto il demòn quanto si pinge:
sta ben con tutti, a tutti, cortesia;
la più sentenza eroica è la più pia:
un piccol vero gran favola cinge.
- 5 Il paiuol della pentola più tinge;
nera chiamarla dunque non dovia.
Libertà bramo, e chi non la desia?
ma il viver sporca chi per viver finge.
“Chi si governa mal, spesso si duole.”
- 10 Se pur lo dite a me, ditelo a tanti
gran profeti e filosofi ed a Cristo.
Né il saper troppo, come alcun dir suole,
ma il poco senno degli assai ignoranti
fa noi meschini e tutto il mondo tristo.

64 A consimili

- 1 Ben seimila anni in tutto 'l mondo io vissi:
fedè ne fan l'istorie delle genti,
ch'io manifesto agli uomini presenti
co' libri filosofici ch'io scrissi.¹
- 5 E tu, marmeggio,² visto ch'io mi ecclissi,
ch'io non sapessi vivere argomenti,

1. Questo è assai noto e arguto e vero.
Si pensa il volgo che per poco cervello sono
mal trattati i savi, e che non si sappiano
governare; e non veggono che condannan
i santi e Cristo, che pur patirono la morte,
ecc. Ma per l'ignoranza di quegli molti, “*qui
nesciunt quid faciunt*,” e non per il saper loro.
Vedi la *Metafisica* in questo punto.

1. Mirabile risposta a' predetti argo-
menti, con ragioni vive contra i reprensori.
Quanta istoria un uomo sa, tanti anni ha,
secondo che l'autore espose.

2. Marmeggi sono i vermi nati dentro il
cacio, che si pensano non ci esser altra vita
né paese che 'l lor cacio.

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cacio, che si pensano non ci esser altra vita
né paese che 'l lor cacio.

63 To Certain Official Friends and Barons Who Accused Him of Too Much Knowledge or Too Little Prudence or Treachery¹

- 1 The demon is not as ugly as it is portrayed:
it gets along well with all, to all is courteous;
the most heroic judgment is the most pious:
a little truth girds a massive fiction.
- 5 The little pan stains more than the pot;
so the pot should not be called black.
I long for liberty, and who does not desire it?
But living dirties the one who only feigns living.
 “He who governs himself poorly is often in pain.”
- 10 If you say it to me, say it also
to many great prophets, philosophers, and Christ.
 Not because we know too much, as some are wont to say,
but rather because the most ignorant know too little
are we made wretched and the whole world oppressed.

64 To His Peers

- 1 I have lived a good six thousand years all over the world:
the histories of the people attest to it,
which I show to people today
through the philosophical books that I wrote.¹
- 5 And you, worm,² sensing that I was eclipsed,
argue that I did not know how to live

1. This is so well known and clever and true. The masses think that wise men are treated badly because they do not have common sense, and that they lack prudence. But those people do not see that they then condemn the saints and Christ, Who also suffered death, etc. But for the ignorance of these masses, “*qui nesciunt quid faciunt*,” and not for their knowledge. See the *Metaphysics* on this point.

1. An admirable answer to the aforesaid arguments with lively reasons against the critics. A man is as old as the amount of history he knows, according to what the author expounds.

2. *Marmeggi* are the worms born from cheese that think that there is no other life nor other place except their cheese.

o ch'io fossi empio; e perché il sol non tenti,
se del fato non puoi gli immensi abissi?

Se a' lupi i savi, che 'l mondo riprende,
10 fosser d'accordo, e' tutto bestia fôra;
ma perché, uccisi, s'empi eran, gli onora?³

Se 'l quaglio si disfà, gran massa apprende;
e 'l fuoco, più soffiato, più s'accende,
poi vola in alto e di stelle s'inflora.⁴

65 Orazione a Dio

1 Tu, che, forza ed amor mischiando, reggi
e muovi gli enti simili e diversi
ordinati a quel fine, ond'io scoversi
il fato, l'armonia di tutte leggi;¹
5 s'è ver che i prieghi di cosa correggi
non decretata negli eterni versi,
ma solo i tempi prosperi e perversi
d'affrettar o tardar ne privilegi;²
così prego io, che tant'anni mi truovo
10 di sciocchi e d'empi favola e bersaglio,
e nuove ingiurie e pene ognora pruovo:
allevia, abbrevia, Dio, tanti travagli;
ché tu pur non farai consiglio nuovo,
se a libertà antevista quinci saglio.

3. Mostra che la morte di savi è la felicità del mondo, ovvero sanità; e che, morti, sono venerati da chi gli riprende.

4. La metafora del quaglio e del fuoco soffiato sono notabili a chiarire il fine de' travagli de' savi, ordinato dal fato divino.

1. E' sì è provato in sua *Metafisica* che tutti gli enti dal dolore e dalla voluttà sono spinti ad operare, e che tutti da un Senno ad un fine da lui inteso sono indirizzati.

2. E' pare che Dio ammenda le preghiere contrarie al fato della sua volontà, perché non fa cosa *ab aeterno* non voluta e prevista.

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or that I was impious; why do you not tempt the sun,
if you cannot try the immense abysses of fate?

If wise men agreed with the wolves
10 that upbraid the world, they would present a beastly exterior;
why then, if impious, are they honored after being killed?³

If rennin dissolves, it makes a great mass;
and fire, the more it is blown, the more it burns,
then it soars on high and adorns itself with stars.⁴

65 Prayer to God

1 You Who, combining force and love, reign
and move beings both similar and diverse,
ordained to that end, whence I discovered
fate, the harmony of all laws,¹
5 if it is true that You do not change what
is decreed in Your eternal verses, according to prayers You receive,
but only hasten or tarry privileges,
according to prosperous or perverse times;²
Then I pray, who for so many years find myself
10 gossip and target of the foolish and impious,
and always endure new outrages and pains:
Alleviate, abbreviate, God, so many travails;
for You will not even offer a new judgment
if I rise from here to a foreseen liberty.

3. He shows that the death of wise men is the world's happiness, or rather its sanity; and that once dead they are venerated by those who reproach them.

4. The metaphors of the rennin and of the blown fire are notable in clarifying the purpose of the wise person's travails, ordained by divine fate.

1. He proved in his *Metaphysics* that all beings are driven to act by pain and by will, and that all are directed by one Intellect toward an end.

2. It seems that God amends the prayers that are contrary to fate according to His own will, because He does not do *ab aeterno* that which He does not want or foresee.

68 Al Telesio Cosentino¹

- 1 Telesio, il telo della tua faretra
uccide de' sofisti in mezzo al campo
degli ingegni il tiranno senza scampo;
libertà, dolce alla verità, impetra.
- 5 Cantan le glorie tue con nobil cetra
il Bombino e 'l Montan nel brettio campo:
e 'l Cavalcante tuo, possente lampo,
le ròcche del nemico ancora spetra.
- Il buon Gaieta la gran donna adorna
- 10 con diàfane vesti risplendenti,
onde a bellezza natural ritorna;
 della mia squilla per li nuovi accenti,
nel tempio universal ella soggiorna:
profetizza il principio e 'l fin degli enti.

71 Sonetto nel Caucaso¹

- 1 Temo che per morir non si migliora
lo stato uman; per questo io non m'uccido:
ché tanto è ampio di miserie il nido,
che, per lungo mutar, non si va fuori.
- 5 I guai cangiando, spesso si peggiora,
perch'ogni spiaggia è come il nostro lido;
per tutto è senso, ed io il presente grido
potrei obbliar, com'ho mill'altri ancora.

1. Questi sono accademici, discepoli del gran Telesio, ch'uccide Aristotile, tiranno degli ingegni umani. Ma il Gaieta, che scrisse della bellezza, avanzò tutti, secondo ch'è dice in *Metafisica*. Ma esso autore, filosofo de' principi e fini delle cose, rinnovò la filosofia, e aggiunse la metafisica e politica, ecc., e la accoppiò con la teologia.

1. Conforto infelice del corporeo senso atterrito dalla ragione, che non si uccida pensando scampare i guai; contra Seneca e altri, che la morte chiamano "quiete," non sapendo che cosa è senso.

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68 To Telesio of Cosenza¹

- 1 Telesio, the arrow from your quiver
kills without mercy the tyrant of sophists
on the battlefield of the minds;
it beseeches liberty, sweet to the truth.
- 5 Bombini and the Montan in the Brettian camp
sing your glories on the noble zither:
and your Cavalcante, powerful lightning bolt,
still shatters the cliffs of the enemy.
- The good Gaietan adorns the great lady
- 10 with resplendent diaphanous dresses,
thus she returns to her natural beauty;
 from my bell, by new accents,
she sojourns in the universal temple:
and prophesizes the beginning and end of beings.

71 Sonnet from the Caucasus¹

- 1 I fear that the human state will not improve
through death; for this reason I do not kill myself:
for the nest is so full of miseries
that even after many mutations, one cannot escape it.
- 5 Swapping difficulties often makes things worse,
because every beach is like our shore;
there is sense everywhere, and I can forget
my present scream as I have a thousand others before.

1. These are academics, disciples of the great Telesio who destroys Aristotle, the tyrant of human ingenuity. But the Gaietan, who wrote of beauty, surpassed everyone, according to what is said in the *Metaphysics*. But this author, philosopher of the principles and purposes of things, renewed philosophy and added metaphysics and politics, etc., and joined them together with theology.

1. It is an unhappy comfort of the corporeal sense terrified by reason that one cannot escape one's troubles through suicide; he writes against Seneca and others who call death "rest," not knowing what sense is.

Ma chi sa quel che di me fia, se tace
10 Omnipotente? e s'io non so se guerra
ebbi quand'era altro ente, ovvero pace?
Filippo in peggior carcere mi serra
or che l'altrieri; e senza Dio nol face.
Stiamci come Dio vuol, poich  non erra.

72 Lamentevole orazione profetale dal profondo della fossa dove stava incarcerato

Canzone

MADRIGALE 1

1 A te tocca, o Signore,
se invan non m'hai creato,
d'esser mio salvatore.
Per questo notte e giorno
5 a te lagimo e grido.
Quando ti parr  ben ch'io sia ascoltato?
Pi  parlar non mi fido,
ch  i ferri, c'ho d'intorno,
ridonsi e fanmi scorno
10 del mio invano pregare,
degli occhi secchi e del rauco esclamare.

MADRIGALE 2

1 Questa dolente vita,
peggior di mille morti,
tant'anni   sepelita,
che al numero io mi trovo
5 delle perdute genti,
qual, senza aiuto, uom libero, tra morti,
di morte e non di stenti:
a' quali il mio composto
sol vive sottoposto,
10 nel centro ad ogni pondo
di tutte le rovine, aim , del mondo.

Ma chi sa quel che di me fia, se tace
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But who knows what will become of me, if
10 the Omnipotent is silent and I do not know whether I had
war or peace when I was another being?

Philip locks me in a worse prison now
than he did yesterday; and he does not do so without God.
Let us stay here as God wills, since He does not err.

72 Woeful Prophetic Prayer from the Depths of the Pit Where He Was Imprisoned

Song

MADRIGAL 1

1 It is up to You, oh Lord,
if You did not create me in vain,
to be my Savior.
For this, night and day
5 I cry and call to You.
When will You deem it good that I be heard?
I do not trust to say more,
because the chains that I have around me
mock and ridicule me
10 for my useless praying,
for my dried eyes and for my hoarse exclaiming.

MADRIGAL 2

1 This painful life,
worse than a thousand deaths,
has been buried for so many years
that now I find myself numbered
5 among the damned,
One without aid among the dead,
a man free of death but not of sufferings:
to which only my body
lives in submission,
10 weighed down amidst
all the ruins, alas, of the world.

MADRIGALE 3

1 Gli uccisi in sepoltura,
dati da te in obbligo,
de' quai non hai più cura,
de' sotterranei laghi
5 nell'infimo rinchiuso
di morte fra le tenebre sembro io.
Qui un mar di guai confuso,
pien di mostri e di draghi,
.....
10 sopra di me si aduna,
e 'l tuo furor spirando aspra fortuna.

MADRIGALE 4

1 Dagli amici disgiunto
sono, e opprobrio al mio sangue,
di scorni e d'orror punto,
che fiutar non mi vuole;
5 né potrebbe, volendo,
me abbominato qual pestifero angue;
e 'l tradimento orrendo
lor fai apparir sole
verso cotanta mole
10 di paure e di affanni,
perch'io mendico sol qui pianga gli anni.

MADRIGALE 5

1 Signor, a cui son figlie
le pietose preghiere,
le tue gran meraviglie
e grazie in me non mostri;
5 faraile a' morti note?
o il sifco a cantar tue glorie altere
risuscitar gli puote?
o fia ne' ciechi chiostrì,
chi narri gli onor vostri?
10 o qui al buio alcun scerne,
tra obbligo e perdizion, tue prove eterne?

MADRIGAL 3

1 Like the slain ones in their graves,
 given up by You to oblivion,
 for whom You no longer care,
 among the underground lakes
5 in the lowest enclosure
 of death in the shadows am I.
 Here confused in a sea of woes
 full of monsters and dragons

10 above me gathers
 bitter fortune, and Your fury emanates.

MADRIGAL 4

1 From friends I am cut off
 and a disgrace to my blood,
 pierced by scorn and horrors,
 who would not want to refuse me?
5 Even if one wanted to, he could not reach me,
 abominated as a plague-bearing eel.
 You, sun, shed light on
 their betrayal and
 make it appear horrible against
10 the backdrop of such heaps of fears and sufferings.
 I, a beggar, can only grieve for my years here.

MADRIGAL 5

1 Lord, to Whom pious prayers
 are Your daughters,
 Your great marvels
 and graces You do not show me.
5 Will You make them known in death?
 Or can You resuscitate my body so
 I can sing Your high glories?
 Or is there someone in these blind cells
 who can recount Your honors?
10 Or here in the dark between oblivion and
 damnation does anyone discern Your eternal proofs?

MADRIGALE 6

1 Quinci io pur sempre esclamo,
 sera e dì ti prevengo:
 “Libertà, Signor, bramo,”
 e tu pur non m’ascolti,
 5 ma volgi gli occhi altrove.
 Povero io nacqui, e di miserie vengo
 nutrito in mille prove;
 poscia, tra i saggi e stolti
 alzato, mi trasvolti
 10 con terribil prestezza
 nella più spaventevole bassezza.

MADRIGALE 7

1 Sopra me si mostrârò
 tutti gli sdegni tuoi,
 tutti mi circondârò,
 come acqua tutti fermi!
 5 né che m’aiuti alcun permetter vuoi.

 La gente del mio seme
 m’allontanasti, e preme
 duro carcer gli amici;
 10 altri raminghi vanno ed infelici.

MADRIGALE 8¹

1 Va’, amaro lamento,
 tratto di salmodia,
 ch’è d’altri profezia,
 ma di me troppo assai ver argomento.
 5 Vanne allo Spirto Santo,
 di cui se’ parto santo:
 forse avrà per sua figlia alcun contento,
 che non merta il mio accento.

1. Questa canzone è parte cavata dal salmo: “*Domine Deus, salutis meae*,” ecc., e la manda allo Spirto Santo.

MADRIGAL 6

1 So I still continue to exclaim,
 I come before You night and day:
 “Freedom, Lord, I desire,”
 and still You do not listen to me,
 5 but turn Your eyes elsewhere.
 I was born poor, and I am nourished
 by miseries in a thousand trials;
 then raised up from among the wise and the foolish,
 You overturn me
 10 with terrible quickness
 to the most fearful lowliness.

MADRIGAL 7

1 Above me You have shown
 all Your scorning insults,
 they have all encircled me
 like water; all stagnant!
 5 nor do You allow another to help me.

 You sent away from me
 the people of my seed
 and award hard prison to my friends;
 10 others go wandering and unhappy.

MADRIGAL 8¹

1 Go, bitter lament,
 taken from a psalm,
 which for others is prophecy
 but for me an all-too-true account.
 5 Go to the Holy Spirit,
 of whom you are a holy birth:
 perhaps He will take some delight in His daughter
 who merits more than my accent.

1. This song is taken in part from the psalm “*Domine Deus, salutis meae*,” etc., and he sends it to the Holy Spirit.

73 Orazioni tre in salmodia metafisicale congiunte insieme

Canzone prima

MADRIGALE 1¹

- 1 Omnipotente Dio, benché del fato
invittissima legge e lunga pruova
d'esser non sol mie' prieghi invano sparsi,
ma al contrario esauditi, mi rimuova
5 dal tuo cospetto, io pur torno ostinato,
tutti gli altri rimedi avendo scarsi.
Che s'altro Dio potesse pur trovarsi,
io certo per aiuto a quel n'andrei.
Né mi si potria dir mai ch'io fosse empio,
10 se da te, che mi scacci in tanto scempio,
a chi m'invita mi rivolgerei.
Deh, Signor, io vaneggio; aita, aita!
pria che del senno il tempio
divenga di stoltizia una meschita.

MADRIGALE 2²

- 1 Ben so che non si trovano parole
che muover possan te a benivolenza
di chi *ab aeterno* amar non destinasti;
ché 'l tuo consiglio non ha penitenza,
5 né può eloquenza di mondane scuole
piegarti a compassion, se decretasti

1. In questo primo madrigale di questa canzone mirabile confessa che sempre fu esaudito al contrario da Dio; e che però e per la legge fatale che non si rompe mai, non dovrebbe più pregare: ma, vedendo che non ci è altro rimedio né altro Dio a chi ricorrere, torna alle orazioni solite, con pentirsi di questo, di dire che, se ci fosse altro Dio, anderebbe a quello, ecc. Egli par diventar pazzo; e che l'anima sua, tempio della Sapienza divina, si fa meschita di stoltizia.

2. Qua argomenta ch'e' non dovesse pregare: primo, per lo fato risoluto nell'eterna volontà; secondo, perché non ci è eloquenza che possa persuader Dio; terzo, perché quel che vuol dire, lo sa tutto il mondo, tanto più Dio che lo fa o permette, ecc.; quarto, perché non può mutarsi, s'egli ha così ordinato: perché ogni mutamento è qualche morte, secondo sant' Augustino; dunque, ecc. Queste ragioni sono risolte in *Metafisica e Teologia*; e appresso risponde in parte.

73 Three Orations in One Metaphysical Psalmody Joined Together

First Song

MADRIGAL 1¹

- 1 Omnipotent God, in spite of the most just law
of Fate and the long proof
that my prayers are not only scattered in vain,
but are heard in the opposite sense, and move me farther
5 from Your sight, I yet stubbornly return,
having exhausted all other recourses.
If there were another God to be found,
I certainly would go to that one for aid.
Nor could anyone ever say that I was impious,
10 if by You, Who cast me in such torment,
I would turn to whomever would welcome me.
Oh, Lord, I rave deliriously. Help, help!
before the temple of my intellect
becomes a mosque of foolishness.

MADRIGAL 2²

- 1 I know well that words cannot be found
that can move You to benevolence
toward whom *ab aeterno* you did not destine to be loved by You;
Your counsel contains no regret,
5 nor can the eloquence of worldly schools
bend You to compassion, if You decreed

1. In this first madrigal of this wondrous song he confesses that his prayers have always been heard by God, but in the opposite way than they were intended; and thus, given that fate's law is never broken, he should not ever pray again. But seeing that there is no other recourse, nor other God to turn to, he returns to his usual prayers, repenting of saying that if there were another God, he would go to him, etc. He seems to go mad; and his soul, temple of divine Wisdom, is becoming a mosque of foolishness.

2. Here he argues that he should not have to pray: first, because fate is decided in the eternal will; second, because there is no eloquence that can persuade God; third, because that which he wants to say, the whole world knows, to say nothing of God who makes him (say it) or allows (it); fourth, because He cannot change if He has ordained it: because every change is some death, according to St. Augustine, so, etc. These reasons are resolved in his *Metaphysics* and *Theology*; and subsequently he responds in part.

che 'l mio composto si disfaccia e guasti
fra miserie contante ch'io patisco.

- E se sa tutto 'l mondo il mio martoro,
10 il ciel, la terra e tutti i figli loro,
perché a te, che lo fai, l'istoria ordisco?
E s'ogni mutamento è qualche morte,
tu, Dio immortal, ch'io adoro,
come ti muterai a cangiar mia sorte?

MADRIGALE 3³

- 1 Io pur ritorno a dimandar mercede,
dove il bisogno e 'l gran dolor mi caccia.
Ma non ho tal retorica né voce,
ch' a tanto tribunal poi si confaccia.
5 Né poca carità, né poca fede,
né la poca speranza è che mi nuoce.
E se, com'altri insegna, pena atroce,
che l'anima pulisca e renda degna
della tua grazia, si ritrova al mondo
10 non han l'alpe cristallo così mondo,
ch'alla mia puritade si convegna.
Cinquanta prigion, sette tormenti
passai, e pur son nel fondo;
e dodici anni d'ingiurie e di stenti.

MADRIGALE 4⁴

- 1 Stavamo tutti al buio. Altri sopiti
d'ignoranza nel sonno; e i sonatori
pagati raddolcìro il sonno infame.
Altri vegghianti rapivan gli onori,

3. Dice che ritorna a pregare, confidato non in retorica né in argomenti, ma nella fede e speranza e carità, che non gli mancava, e ne' tormenti lunghi e atroci, che poteano averlo purificato e reso degno e congruo d'essere esaudito. E pure s'inganna, come mostra nella *Canzone a Berillo*.

4. Narra che, stando il mondo nello scuro, e facendo tanto male ognuno al prossimo, e che gli sofisti e ippocriti, predicando adulazioni, fanno dormir il mondo in queste tenebre; egli, accendendo una luce, ebbe contro gli ingannati e l'ingannatori, ecc.; e che quelli, come pecore accordate co' lupi contra gli cani, son devorate poi da' lupi, secondo la parabola di Demotene.

that my body must be undone and wasted
 through the constant miseries that I suffer.
 And if the whole world knows my martyrdom,
 10 heaven, earth, and all their offspring,
 why do I say it in prayer to You, Who made it?
 And if every change is some death,
 You, immortal God, Whom I adore,
 how will You mutate to change my fortune?

MADRIGAL 3³

1 I still return to beg for mercy,
 where need and great pain hunts me down.
 But I have neither such rhetoric nor voice
 that is appropriate to so great a tribunal.
 5 Neither too little charity, nor too little faith,
 nor too little hope is what ails me.
 And if, as another teaches, atrocious pain
 that cleanses the soul and renders it worthy
 of Your grace, is found in the world,
 10 the Alps do not have crystal so radiant
 that would compare to my purity.
 Fifty prisons, seven torments
 I suffered, and yet I am still at the bottom;
 and twelve years of insults and privations.

MADRIGAL 4⁴

1 We were all in the dark. Some lulled
 by ignorance to sleep; and paid
 musicians made shameful sleep sweet.
 Those who were awake stole honors,

3. He says that he returns to pray, comforted not by rhetoric or by arguments, but by faith, hope, and charity, which he never lacked, and by the long and atrocious torments that can have purified him and rendered him worthy and capable of being heard. Yet he deceived himself, as he shows in the *Song to Berillo*.

4. He tells how, when the world was in darkness and everyone was doing evil to his neighbor, and the sophists and hypocrites preached adulations, making the world sleep in these shadows, he, turning on a light, moved against the deceivers and the deceived, etc. The deceived, like sheep who agree with the wolves against the sheepdogs, are devoured by the wolves, according to the parable of Demosthenes.

- 5 la robba, il sangue, o si facean mariti
d'ogni sesso, e schernian le genti grame.
Io accesi un lume: ecco, qual d'api esciame,
scovati, la faultrice tolta notte
sopra me a vendicar ladri e gelosi,
10 e que' le paghe, e i brutti sonnacchiosi
del bestial sonno le gioie interrotte:
le pecore co' lupi fùr d'accordo
contra i can valorosi;
poi restâr preda di lor ventre ingordo.

MADRIGALE 5⁵

- 1 Deh! gran Pastor, il tuo can, la tua lampa,
da' lupi omai difende e da' ladroni.
Fa noto il tutto all'ignorante gregge;
ché se mia luce e voce, pur tuoi doni,
5 lasci spacciare per peccato in stampa,
più dannato fia il sole e la tua legge.
Ma, s'altra colpa è pur che mi corregge,
sai che non può volarsi senza penne
della tua grazia; né, senza, io le merto.
10 Pur sempr'ho l'occhio al tuo splendor aperto;
che fallo è il mio, se dentro egli non venne?
Ma sciogli Bocca, e fai tuo messaggero
Gilardo; e con qual merto?
Mâncati la ragione forse o l'impero?

5. Prega che Dio manifesti al popolo
ch'egli è luce e cane, e non larva e lupo, ecc.;
e che la luce solare e la legge divina pur
saranno presi per oscurità e per nequizia,
se chi dice il vero è talmento afflito, ecc.
Poi dice che, se ci è qualche peccato ch'egli
non vede in sé, per lo quale pate, che gli dia
la grazia di uscirne; perché non si può volar
senza l'ali della grazia di Dio, né si può la
grazia meritare se non per grazia. E ch'egli
solo s'apparecchia a riceverla. Poi s'ammira
che liberò Bocca, e fece suo profeta un altro
tristo senza meriti.

- 5 stuff, blood, or made themselves spouses
of every sex, and derided the unfortunate people.
I turned on a light: there! Like a swarm of exposed bees,
deprived of their advantageous night,
thieves and the envious took revenge on me,
10 their wages interrupted and the joys
the ugly dozers got from their bestial sleep.
The sheep went along with the wolves
against the valiant sheepdogs;
then they became the prey of their own greedy entrails.

MADRIGAL 5⁵

- 1 Oh! great Pastor, Your dog, and Your lamp,
defend now from the wolves and thieves.
Make known all of this to the ignorant flock;
for if my light and voice, Your gifts,
5 You allow to pass for sin in public,
the sun and Your law will be more damaged.
But if You are correcting another sin of mine,
You know that I cannot fly without the feathers
of Your grace; nor, otherwise, do I deserve them.
10 I still have my eye opened to Your splendor;
what fault is mine, if that splendor did not come to me?
You release Bocca, and make Your messenger
Gilardo; and by what merits?
Do You lack reason, perhaps, or authority?

5. He prays that God show the people that he is a light and a sheepdog, not a shade and a wolf, etc; and that the sun's light and divine law will still be taken as darkness and evil if the one who tells the truth is so afflicted, etc. Then he says that if there is some sin that he does not see in himself, for which he suffers, that God give him the grace to escape from it because one cannot fly without the wings of His grace, nor can grace be merited, except by grace. And only he is preparing himself to receive it. Then he wonders why God liberated Bocca and made another wretched one without merits His prophet.

MADRIGALE 6⁶

- 1 Parlo teco, Signor, che mi comprendi,
e dell'accuse altrui poco mi cale.
Io ben confesso che del mondo hai cura
e ch'a nulla sua parte vogli male;
5 quantunque, a ben del tutto che più intendi,
senza annullarle, le muti a misura:
in che consiste proprio la Natura;
e tal mutanza "male e morte" noi
"di qualità o di essenza" sogliam dire,
10 ch'è del tutto alma vita e bel gioire,
bench'alle parti tanto par ch'annoi.
Così del corpo mio più morti e vite
veggo andare e venire,
di parti a ben del tutto in vita unite.

MADRIGALE 7⁷

- 1 Il mondo, dunque, non ha male; ed io
di mali innumerabili sto oppresso
per letizia del tutto e d'altre parti.
Ma, se alle particelle hai pur concesso
5 d'invocar chi l'aiuta "proprio Dio,"
ché a tutti gli enti il tuo valor comparti
e le mutanze lor con segrete arti
addolcisci, amoroso temperando

6. Mostra che questi argomenti gli fa a Dio, che sa, quel che dice, non dirlo d'animo eretico. E poi confessa che Dio regge il tutto, e che muta le cose con misura, e che la mutazione pare male e morte a noi, che parti siamo del mondo, se bene al tutto è vita e giocondità; come nel corpo nostro più morti e vite ci sono, mentre il cibo si trasmuta in tante particelle, e parte del corpo esala in aere, ecc., e pure fanno una vita del tutto composto.

7. Conchiude che, se 'l mondo non ha male, ma egli ch'è parte di quello, patisce per ben del tutto e dell'altre parti (come la pecora per cibare il lupo, e ogni parte del mondo offesa chiama in aiuto altre parti simili, come Dio proprio, perché Dio in quelle l'aiuta, mentre a tutte donò Potere, Sapere e Amore, e le temperò con fato, necessità e armonia); dunque e' deve pur pregare Dio, e non cessare, perché ci dia rimedio contra la pena, o ci tolga l'amor crudele del vivere, che gli dona più pena che la morte stessa, ecc. Nota ch'è dolce l'amor della vita e crudele, perché, se quello non fusse, non ci dispiacerebbe la morte né gli guai.

MADRIGAL 6⁶

- 1 I speak with You, Lord, Who understand me,
and the accusations of others mean little to me.
I well confess that You care about the world
and that You do not wish evil on any of its parts;
5 nonetheless, for the good of all, which You understand best,
without destroying them, You change them according to measure
into what Nature most properly consists;
and that change of “quality or essence”
we tend to call “evil and death,”
10 which is the life, soul, and great rejoicing of the whole,
although You seem to harm the parts so much.
Similarly I see go from and come to my body
more deaths and lives
of parts united for the good of all in life.

MADRIGAL 7⁷

- 1 The world, thus, has no evil; though I
am oppressed by innumerable evils
for the joy of the whole and its other parts.
But You permit even to the little parts
5 to invoke their “own God” for aid,
since You share Your worth with all the beings
and their changes with secret arts
You make sweet, Power, Intellect, and Love

6. He shows that these arguments that he makes to God Who knows what he says, are not said by a heretical soul. Then he confesses that God reigns over all, and that He changes things with measure, and that change seems evil and death to us, who are parts of the world, though to the whole change is life and happiness; just like in our bodies there are many lives and deaths while food is transmuted into so many little parts and a part of the body rises in the air, etc., and yet they make up a life of the composite whole.

7. He concludes that the world has no evil, but he, who is part of that, suffers for the good of the whole and for the other parts (like the sheep the wolf eats, and every part of the world claims itself hurt in helping other similar parts, as God Himself, because God helped them in themselves when He gave to them all Power, Knowledge, and Love, and tempered them with fate, necessity, and harmony); thus he must pray to God, and never quit, because He gives us recourse against pain or takes away from us the cruel love of living, that gives us more pain than death itself, etc. He notes that love of life is sweet and cruel because if it were not, we would not mind death nor troubles.

necessitate, fato ed armonia,
10 Possanza, Senno, Amor per ogni via;
m'è avviso, ch'a pregarti ritornando,
truovi rimedio alcun, che rallentarmi
possa la pena ria,
o 'l dolce crudo amor di vita trarmi.

MADRIGALE 8⁸

1 Cosa il mondo non ha che non si muti,
né che del suo mutarsi non si doglia,
né che del suo dolersi Dio non preghi.
Fra' quali molti son cui avvenir soglia,
5 che, come tu *ab aeterno* vuoi, l'aiuti;
e molti ancora, a cui l'aiuto neghi.
Come dunque io saprò per cui ti pieghi,
s'io presente non fui al consiglio antico?
Argomento verace alfin m'addita
10 che quella orazion sia esaudita,
che con ragione e puramente io dico.
Così spesso, non sempre, nel tuo volto
sentenza è diffinita,
che 'l campo frutti ben, s'egli è ben colto.

8. Dice che tutti gli enti pregano Dio nel suo modo, che loro tolga le pene: onde san Paolo, *Ad Romanos*: "*Omnis creatura ingemiscit et parturit usque adhuc.*" E che Dio esaudisce molti secondo ch'e' destinò, e molti no; e che, non sapendo s'egli era destinato d'esser esaudito, s'appiglia al partito di pregare ancora. Perché per buon argomento conosce che la dimanda ragionevole e con purità deve essere esaudita, come il campo ben coltivato fa frutto; e si spera il frutto con ragione, benché Dio avesse disposto altrimenti, ma che Dio proprio pare che voglia anche tal fruttare, ecc.

lovingly tempering necessity, fate,
10 and harmony, in every way.
I realize that by returning to pray to You,
I may find some remedy that
can slow my wretched pain,
or take from me the sweet cruel love of life.

MADRIGAL 8⁸

1 The world has no thing that does not change,
nor that does not suffer pain in its mutation,
nor that does not pray to God about its pain.
Among these there are many who often
5 come to You, and as You will *ab aeterno* You help them;
and to still many more You deny aid.
How then will I know what bends You,
if I was not present at the ancient counsel?
A true argument finally points out to me
10 that the prayer that I speak
with purity and reason is heard.
So often, not always, in Your countenance
a sentence is definitive,
and the field is fruitful that is well cultivated.

8. He says that all beings pray to God in their own way, that He take their pains from them, whence St. Paul *Ad Romanos*: "*Omnis creatura ingemiscit et parturit usque adhu.*" And God answers many according to what He destined, and many not; and that not knowing if he was destined to be heard, he takes up praying again because he knows by a good argument that a reasonable petition asked with purity must be heard, like the well-cultivated field is fruitful; and he hopes in the harvest with reason, even though God may have disposed otherwise, but that God Himself also appears to want that harvest, etc.

MADRIGALE 9⁹

- 1 Del mio contrito e ben arato suolo
la coltura mi reca gran speranza,
ma più lo sol del Senno che 'l feconda,
che molte stelle forse sopravanza,
5 esser predestinato sopra il polo,
che la preghiera mia non si confonda,
e ch'abbia il fine, a cui di mezzi abbonda
pur da te infusi e previsti *ab aeterno*.
Con condizione pregò Cristo, sapendo
10 che schivar non potea il calice orrendo.
E l'angel suo rispose: al gran governo
convenir ch'egli muoia. Io senza prego,
risposta ricevendo
dal mio diversa, che sovente allego.

MADRIGALE 10¹⁰

- 1 Canzon, di' al mio Signor: "Chi per te giace
tormentato in catena intra una fossa,
dimanda come possa
volar senza ale. O manda, o tu insegna
5 come la ruota fatale è ben mossa,
e se si truova in Ciel lingua mendace."
Ma parrai troppo audace,
senza l'altra, ch'or teco uscir disegna.

9. Conchiude che, sendo egli contrito e coltivato come il campo, può sperar aiuto da questa orazione; ma più lo certifica il senno che Dio l'infuse, o per profeti gli avvisa, ecc., e che, avendo mezzi per gran fine, arriverà a quel fine che le virtù dategli da Dio ricercano. E che, se bene Cristo non fu esaudito nella morte, e l'angelo gli rispose che dovea morire, pregò con condizione: "*si fieri potest*." Ma e' prega senza condizione, e l'angelo gli risponde che sarà esaudito. Questo fu inganno del Demonio, e non angelo. Nota quanto ci vuol a digiudicar se saremo esauditi.

10. Manda la canzone a Dio, che gli dica che non può volare senza l'ali della sua grazia, e che gli mandi un angelo, o egli stesso l'insegni se la ruota della Fortuna va con ragione, poich'egli può patire senza ragione e altri sguazzare senza merito, ecc. E come, avendoli rivelato la libertà, si truova bugia in Cielo. Questo fu 'l Diavolo, e non un angelo. Poi dice ch'aspetti la seconda canzone a questo proposito, più umile.

MADRIGAL 9⁹

- 1 For my contrite and well-plowed soil
 I hold great hope in the harvest,
 but more in the sun of the Intellect that makes it fertile,
 that after many stars perhaps advance,
 5 I am predestined above the pole.
 May my prayer be not confused,
 and may it have the aim for which the means abound
 infused by You and foreseen *ab aeterno*.
 Christ prayed with a condition, knowing
 10 that He could not avoid the horrendous chalice.
 And His angel answered: for the great kingdom
 it is necessary that He die. I pray without one
 and usually receive a different answer
 than what I ask.

MADRIGAL 10¹⁰

- 1 Song, say to my Lord: "A man tortured for You
 and lying in chains in a pit
 asks how he can
 fly without wings. Either send or teach
 5 how the fatal wheel is well moved,
 or whether there is a lying tongue in Heaven."
 But you will seem too bold
 without the next song that now I craft to go with you.

9. He concludes that, given that he is contrite and is well cultivated like a field, he can hope for aid from his prayer; but the more God's intellect, infused in him, assures him, or through prophets that warn him, etc., and, having the means to arrive at the great end, he will arrive at that end that the virtues given him by God have sought. Even though Christ's prayer was not heard at the point of death, and the angel told Him that he must die, still He prayed with the condition: "*si fieri potest*." But he prays without any condition, and the angel answers him that he will be heard. This was the Demon's deception and not that of an angel. He notes how long it takes to determine if we will be heard.

10. He sends the song to God, telling Him that he cannot fly without the wings of His grace, and that He should send him an angel or come Himself to teach him if the wheel of Fortune moves with reason, since he can suffer with reason and others go free without merit, etc. And how, having revealed liberty to them, one finds in Heaven a lie. This was the Devil and not an angel. Then he says to wait for the second song, more humble, on this subject.

74 Orazioni tre in salmodia metafisicale congiunte insieme

Canzone seconda Della medesima salmodia

MADRIGALE 1¹

- 1 Se ha' destinato ch'io ben sparga il seme,
avrà forse voluto che ben mieta:
perché dunque sì tarda il giusto fine?
Perché le stelle fai e più d'un profeta,
5 i tuo' doni e scienze vani insieme?
Perché le forze e le voglie divine
il nemico schernisce? e le rovine,
ch' a lui si converrian, a me rivolge?
Perché tra 'l fato un'animata terra
10 bestemmia e nega Dio, s'egli non erra,
e me che t'amo in tante pene involge?
Quando ignorai e negai, molto impetrai
con chi il tuo nome atterra;
or ch'io t'adoro, vo traendo guai.

MADRIGALE 2²

- 1 Se tu già m'esaudisti peccatore,
perch'or non m'esaudisci penitente?
Perch'a Bocca, il tuo Nume dispregiante
le porte apristi, e me lasci dolente,
5 preda al nemico e riso al traditore?
Così m'hai dato il corridor volante?
Ogni tiranno è contra i tuoi costante,

1. Quattro dimande argute e dolenti fatte a Dio, difficili a sciörre, come quella di Ieremia: "*Iustus es, Domine, si disputem tecum,*" ecc. Ma più è questa: che sia nell'ordine fatale, bene ordinato da Dio, alcuno che bestemmia Dio; e come ciò possa essere. La risposta ci è nell'*Antimacchiavellismo* d'esso autore. Poi dice che Dio l'esaudi in altri travagli, quando era poco cristiano; e ora s'ammira che, risoluto ad essere buono, non è esaudito.

2. Segue le medesime dimande. E come liberò quel tristo, che apostatò poi, ed egli fu ingannato da chi volea liberarlo. Poi dice che, sendo gli amici di Dio sempre afflitti, però sono pochi: il che disse Salomone in Ecclesiaste: "*Quia eadem cunctis eveniunt, corda filiorum hominum implentur malitia,*" ecc., e perché "*vidi iustos, quibus mala eveniunt, malos autem, qui ita securi sunt ac si bene egissent.*"

74 Three Prayers in One Metaphysical Psalmody Joined Together

Second Song *On the Same Psalmody*

MADRIGAL 1¹

- 1 If You destined that I scatter well my seed,
wanting perhaps for me to harvest well:
why then is the just end so long in coming?
Why do You make the stars and more than one prophet
5 go uselessly together with Your gifts and sciences?
Why does the enemy deride
force and divine will? and the ruins,
that he deserves, come to me?
Why does one man—animated mud
10 who blasphemes and denies God—come between fate,
if it does not err, and me, who loves You even in such pains?
When I was ignorant and denied You, I often prayed
with those who cast Your name to the ground;
now that I adore You, I gather troubles.

MADRIGAL 2²

- 1 If You once heard me as a sinner,
why do You not listen to me now that I am repentant?
Why did You open the doors to Bocca,
who disparages Your Numen,
5 and is prey to the enemy and plaything of the traitor?
For this reason did You give me the flying horse?
Every tyrant is constantly against Your people,

1. Four keen and painful questions, difficult to resolve, asked to God, like those Jeremiah asked: "*Iustus es, Domine, si disputem tecum,*" etc. But more important is this: in the fated order, rightly ordered by God, where is one who curses God? and how can that be? The answer is in the *Against Machiavellism* by this author. Then he says that God granted him other trials when he was not much of a Christian; and now he wonders that, resolved to be good, his prayers are not answered.

2. This madrigal follows the same questions. And how God liberated that wicked one, who subsequently apostatized; and he was deceived by someone who wanted to liberate him. Then the author says that, though the friends of God are always afflicted, they are few, as Solomon said in Ecclesiastes: "*Quia eadem cunctis eveniunt, corda filiorum hominum implentur malitia,*" etc., and because "*vidi iustos, quibus mala eveniunt, malos autem, qui ita securi sunt ac si bene egissent.*"

e 'n ben trattar chi a' suo' piaceri applaude;
 e tu gli amici tuoi sempre più aggravi,
 10 e nel lor sangue l'altrui colpe lavi.
 Che meraviglia se cresce la fraude,
 moltiplicano i vizi e le peccata?
 Ché, ad onta nostra, i pravi
 si vantan, che dàì lor vita beata.

MADRIGALE 3³

1 Io con gli amici pur sempre ti scuso
 ch'altro secolo in premio a' tuoi riserbi;
 e che i malvagi in sé sieno infelici,
 sempre affliggendo gli animi superbi
 5 sdegno, ignoranza e sospetto rinchiuso;
 e che di lor fortune traditrici
 traboccan sempre al fine. Ma gli amici,
 se, quelli dentro e noi di fuor, siamo
 tutti meschini, chieggon la cagione,
 10 che fa nel nostro mal tue voglie buone;
 che se gli altri enti e noi, figli d'Adamo,
 doveamo trasmutarci a ben del tutto
 di magione in magione,
 perché non fai tal muta senza lutto?

MADRIGALE 4⁴

1 Senza lutto se fosse, senza senso
 sarìan le cose e senza godimento,

3. Risponde che a' buoni s'aspetta un'altra vita in premio. E che di più in questa vita gli tristi sono più puniti in verità, che gli buoni internamente, bench'e' non paia; come pur disse san Piero a Simon mago, ecc. Ma di ciò nasce maggior dubbio: perché Dio fa che ci sia tanta meschinità tra buoni e malvagi? E se la mutazione fa questo, perché non ordinò che le cose si mutino senza sentir dolore?

4. Risponde che, se la mutazione fosse senza doglia, non ci sarebbe senso di piacere. E così non combatterebbero gli enti contrari, e non si farebbe generazione, e 'l mondo tornerebbe caos. E poi risponde, che pure nel punto del mutamento, quando par che Dio dovesse levare il senso del dolore, è necessario che ci sia, perché resista quel ch'è travagliato e muore al travagliante, e si temperi in quel modello che intende Dio operante con tale ordine del suo fato. Stupenda risposta! E poi dice che non sa che dire a Dio, in questo; e passa in altre sue opinioni sopra ciò, ecc.

and the ones who applaud his whims are treated better;
 and You continue to burden ever more Your friends,
 10 and You wash others' sins in their blood.
 Is it any wonder frauds increase,
 multiplying vices and sins?
 After all, to our chagrin, the depraved ones
 gloat because You give them the blessed life.

MADRIGAL 3³

1 I with our friends still always excuse You
 because You save for Your people the reward of the next age;
 and let the evildoers be unhappy in themselves,
 always afflicting disdain in the proud
 5 souls, locked in ignorance and suspicion;
 and they always abound in their traitorous
 fortunes in the end. But Your friends,
 both those inside and those of us on the outside, if
 we are all wretched, what is the reason
 10 why in our misfortune Your will becomes good;
 and if the other beings and we, sons of Adam,
 are to be transmuted into the good of all
 from one form to another,
 why do You not permit that change without grief?

MADRIGAL 4⁴

1 If change were without grief, things would be
 without sense and without pleasure,

3. He responds that good people can expect another life as a reward. And that in truth no one more than the wicked are more punished in this life, not even the good internally, though it may not seem so; as St. Peter said to Simon Magus, etc. But from this, a greater doubt emerges: Why does God permit so much meanness between the good and evildoers? And if change causes this, why did He not order that things change without feeling pain?

4. He responds that, if mutation were without pain, there would not be any sense of pleasure. And then contrary beings

would not fight each other, and there would not be generation, and the world would return to chaos. Then he answers that even at the point of mutation, when it seems that God should take away the sense of pain, it is necessary that it be there because the one who suffers is resisting and dies to the one who is to suffer, and it is tempered in that model that the working God intends with the order of His fate. Stupendous response! Then he says that he does not know what to say to God in this; and he passes to his other opinions on it, etc.

né ci saria tra lor combattimento,
 né generazione, e 'l caos immenso
 5 la bella distinzione assorbirebbe.
 E pur nel punto che mutar si debbe
 la cosa, uopo è che senta, perch'all'altra
 resista e faccia ch'ella si muti anco,
 secondo il fato vuol, né più né manco,
 10 chi regge il mondo. Or qui tuo Senno scaltra.
 Io, teco disputando, vinto e lasso
 cancello, e metto in bianco
 le mie ragioni; in altro conto passo.

MADRIGALE 5⁵

1 Solevo io dir fra me dubbiano: "Come
 d'erbe e di bruti uccisi per mia cena
 non curo il mal, né a' supplicanti vermi
 dentro a me nati do favor, ma pena;
 5 anzi il Sol padre e Terra madre il nome
 struggon de' figli e i lor composti infermi;
 così Dio non sol pare che s'affermi
 che del mal nostro pietade nol punga,
 ma ch'egli sembri il tutto; onde ne goda
 10 trarci di vita in vita, con sua loda
 che fuor del cerchio suo mai non si giunga."
 O pur, che in Dio fosse divario dolce,
 dissi ragion men soda,
 come in Vertunno è, che 'l nostro soffolce.

5. Dice ch'e' solea immaginarsi che Dio
 fa come noi a' vermi nati dentro il corpo
 nostro; che gli uccidiamo e non sentiamo
 i prieghi loro; o come il sole e la terra uc-
 cidono gli secondi enti da lor generati. E
 che Dio sia il tutto, e gode che dentro a lui si
 mutino senza annullarsi le cose, ma passano
 sempre in vario essere vitale, ecc. O che Dio
 pure si mutasse, ma con dolcezza, come si
 favoleggia di Vertunno e Proteo, e che dal
 suo mutamento dolce nasce il nostro muta-
 mento; e così l'affanno per conseguenza a
 noi, sendo noi parti, e non il tutto.

nor would there be battles among them,
 nor generation, and immense chaos
 5 would absorb beautiful distinction.
 At the point at which a thing should
 change, it is still necessary that it feel, because
 it resists the other and makes it change also,
 according to what fate wills, neither more nor less,
 10 which rules the world. Now let Your Intellect here be keen.
 I, disputing You, am conquered and defeated,
 I erase my reasons and make them blank;
 I pass to another matter.

MADRIGAL 5⁵

1 I used to say to myself doubtfully: "Just as
 I do not care about the suffering of plants and beasts killed
 for my supper, nor to the supplicating worms
 born inside me do I give favor, but pain;
 5 even father Sun and mother Earth
 destroy the name of their offspring and weak composites.
 Likewise God not only seems to affirm
 that our suffering does not move Him to pity,
 but that He resembles the whole. Thus He enjoys
 10 dragging us from life to life, singing His praise,
 since outside His circle one can never go."
 Or rather, that in God there might be a sweet divide,
 my less solid reasoning said,
 like in Vertumnus, who is our source.

5. He says that he usually imagines that
 God does to us as we to the worms born
 in our body; that we kill them and do not
 hear their prayers; or as the sun and the
 earth kill the secondary entities from their
 generation. And God is all, and enjoys that
 inside Him things change without being
 destroyed, but rather always pass into vari-
 ous other living beings, etc. Or God Himself
 mutates, but with sweetness, like in the tales
 of Vertumnus and Proteus, and from His
 sweet change is born our change; and so toil
 is a consequence for us, being that we are
 parts and not the whole.

MADRIGALE 6⁶

- 1 Or ti rendo, Signor, fermezza intègra:
ché i prieghi e 'l variar d'ogni ente fue
da te antevisto, e non ti è un iota nuovo,
ch'un tuo primo voler possa or far due.
- 5 D'essere e di non essere s'intègra:
per l'un la fermo, per l'altro la nuovo;
che da te sia, da sé non sia, la truovo;
per sé si muta, e per te non s'annulla
la creatura; e stassi, te imitando;
- 10 e mutasi, tua idea rappresentando,
ché in infinite fogge la trastulla,
per non poterla tutta in un mostrare;
infinità mancando
a questa, nel cui male il tuo ben pare.

MADRIGALE 7⁷

- 1 Le colpe di natura (ancor dichiaro),
in cui si fondon l'altre del costume,
per la continova guerra, ch'indi avviene
che l'un l'altro non è, non dal tuo Nume,
- 5 ma dal niente origine pigliaro.
Né toglier la discordia a te conviene,

6. Corregge la falsa opinione predetta, dicendo che Dio è immutabile, e le orazioni non poter dal suo primo volere mutarlo, perché già avea antevisto i prieghi nostri, e determinato se era bene esaudirle o no. Poscia mostra che il mutamento non viene dall'essere né da Dio, ma dal nostro non essere; e che, sendo noi composti di ente e niente, quello da Dio ricevuto e questo da noi, sempre torniamo al niente, e Dio ci tiene che non ci annulliamo. E questo ritenimento è figurarsi con nuova idea sempre; e che la creatura sendo finita, e l'idea infinita, non può in una sola mutazione tutta parteciparla; e però Dio lascia questa mutazione del niente, servendosi a bene dell'ente, ecc.

7. Dichiaro che gli peccati della natura, in cui sono fondati pur quelli del costume, ch'è abuso d'essa natura razionabile, non vengono da Dio, ma dalla guerra de' contrari; e la guerra viene da niente, perché l'uno non è l'altro. Vedi la *Metafisica* per questo. E poi dice che non par bene, come alcuni Epicurei dicono, che Dio tolga la guerra tra gli elementi e tra gli elementati; perché mancherebbe la mutazione e la rappresentazione della gloria divina in tanti successi d'essere, li quali sono giocondi, mentre sono simili a Dio. Onde tutti braman essere; e la doglia solo nasce quando vanno al non essere e al morire, dove il niente gli chiama; e Dio non lascia annichilarsi, ma passare in altri essere.

MADRIGAL 6⁶

- 1 Now I surrender to You, Lord, all my stubbornness:
since the prayers and the changes of every being have
already been foreseen by You, and for You there is never a new iota;
Your prime will cannot now become two.
- 5 The created thing integrates Being and nonbeing;
in the former it is stable; in the latter it becomes;
in You, I find, it is; of itself it cannot be;
through itself, it changes, but because of You the creature
is not destroyed; and it remains, imitating You;
- 10 and it changes, representing Your idea,
and You delight in its infinite guises,
since the creature cannot at once manifest the whole,
lacking infinity,
so in its particular lack, Your good appears.

MADRIGAL 7⁷

- 1 The sins of nature (I declare again),
in which are derived the others through habits,
through continual war that occurs there
because the one and the other are not. They had their origin
- 5 not through Your Spirit, but from nothing.
Nor is it right for You to take away their discord,

6. He corrects the false aforementioned opinion, saying that God is immutable, and prayers cannot move Him from His first desire because He already foresaw our prayers, and determined if it was right to grant them or not. Then he shows that change does not come from being nor from God, but from our nonbeing; and that, given that we are composed of Being and nothingness, the former received from God, the latter from us, we always return to nothing, but God makes sure that we are not annihilated. And this assurance comes from refiguring us always with a new idea; and given that the creature is finite and the idea is infinite, it cannot in a single mutation participate in the whole; thus God leaves this mutation from nothing, using the good of the being, etc.

7. He declares that the sins of nature, in which are founded also those of habit, which is the abuse of this rational nature, do not come from God, but from the war of opposites; and the war comes from nothingness because one is not the other. See the *Metaphysics* on this issue. Then he says that it would not be good, as some Epicureans say, that God take away the war among the elements and the elementals; because mutation would be missing, and the representation of divine glory in such successions of Being, which are joyous while they are similar to God. Whence all things want to Be; and pain is only born when they go to nonbeing and to death, where they are called nothing; and God does not let them be destroyed but makes them pass to another being.

né far che l'un sia l'altro, perché 'l bene
di tanti cangiamenti saria spento,
né la tua gloria nota in tante forme
10 gioiose mentre stanno a te conforme,
dogliose mentre vanno al mutamento,
dove il niente le chiama. Ond'io veggio
che il tuo Senno non dorme;
ma io, in niente assorbito, vaneggio.

MADRIGALE 8⁸

1 Sì come il ferro, di natura impuro,
sempre s'arruggia e 'l fabbro invita all'opra,
così le cose, dal niente nate,
tornan sempre al niente; e Dio sta sopra,
5 ché non s'annullin, ma di quel che fũro
in altro essere e vita sien recate.
S' e' fregia nostra colpa e nullitate,
Dio ringraziar debbiam, non lamentarci;
ed io, vie più che gli altri, che son meno,
10 onde di guai mi truovo sempre pieno.
Ma, se de' pannilini i vecchi squarci
carta facciam, che noi di morte rape
d'eternitade al seno,
che fia di me, se Dio di noi più sape?

8. Séguita a mostrare che Dio si serve della nostra mutazione e nientità a mostrare altre ricchezze d'essere; e che non possiamo lamentarci di lui se siamo travagliati e muoiamo, perché questo viene dal nostro non essere, non dal suo essere. E poi dice che, sendo egli partecipe di molto niente, come gli guai mostrano, non deve lagnarsi. Alfine si conforta che, se de' stracciati panni si fa da noi carta per scrivere ed eternarsi in scrittura, tanto più cosa immortale, e glorificarlo in fama e in vita celeste, ecc., perché sarebbe sciocco, non sapendosi servire del male in bene più che noi, ecc.

nor that You make one into the other, because the good
of so many changes would be extinguished,
nor Your glory known in so many joyful
10 forms while they remain conformed to You,
while in pain going through the change,
where nothingness calls them. So I see
that Your Intellect does not sleep;
but I, absorbed in nothingness, rave delirious.

MADRIGAL 8⁸

1 Just as iron, impure in nature,
always rusts and draws the blacksmith to work,
so the things, born of nothingness,
return always to nothingness; and God stays above,
5 so that none of them are lost, but those which were
in some other being are reused.
If He rubs out our guilt and nothingness,
we must render thanks to God and not complain;
and I more so than others, who, worthless,
10 find myself always full of woes.
But if we make paper of old torn
rags, what can He do with me by snatching me
out of death into the lap of eternity,
if God knows more than we do?

8. He follows showing that God uses our
mutation and nothingness to show other
riches of Being; and that we cannot com-
plain to Him if we are pained and annoyed,
because this comes from our nonbeing, not
from His Being. Then he says that, given
that He participates in much nothing-
ness, like troubles demonstrate, one must
not complain. In the end one is comforted
that, if from ripped rags we make paper to
write and make ourselves eternal through
writings, so many greater things can the
Immortal do, and glorifying in name and
in celestial life, etc., because it would be
foolish not knowing how to use evil for good
more than we do, etc.

MADRIGALE 9⁹

- 1 “Ma perché più degli altri io fui soggetto
alle doglienze della vita nostra?”
“Ché in questa o in altra aspetti miglior sorte,
e in quelli forza e in te saper Dio mostra.”
5 “Ma perché l’una e l’altro io non ho stretto?”
“Ché se’ parte e non tutto.” “E perché forte
fui e savio chi a Golia donò la morte?”
“Quel ch’era in lui, in te non è or bisogno.”
“Perché così?” “Ché l’ordine fatale
10 ottimo il volle, che Dio fece tale.”
Miser, so men quanto saper più agogno!
Miserere di me, Signor, se puoi
far corto e lieve il male,
senza guastar gli alti consigli tuoi!

MADRIGALE 10¹⁰

- 1 Canzon, di’ al mio Signor, ch’io ben conosco
ch’ogni cosa esser puote
migliore a sé, ma non all’universo;
ch’ e’ già saria disperso,
5 se uguali al sol fussero l’altre ruote
del mio desir non vòte.
Ma più ho da dirli: “Aspetta
la tua terza sorella, che non tarda;
sarai in mezzo eletta
10 e più a grazia impetrar forse gagliarda.”

9. Fa un dubbio: perché fu più soggetto delli altri a’ guai? E risponde: perché aspetta miglior sorte in questa e nell’altra vita, e perché Dio negli altri mostra il suo potere, facendogli meno soggetti a’ guai, e ‘n lui il suo sapere. E contra questa risposta argomenta: per che causa David fu sapiente e forte? Risponde che fu così necessario in quello, e non ora in esso autore. E, replicando, dice che l’ordine fatale così portò, ordinato *ab aeterno*. E perché ciò poco s’intende, conchiude che quanto più vuol sapere di questi segreti, meno ne sa. Però

si volta a pregare semplicemente che Dio l’aiuti senza guastare i suo’ disegni, ecc.

10. Manda quest’orazione a Dio, con dire che ben vede come per se stesso e’ potrebbe star meglio, ma non per tutto ‘l mondo, perché il mondo sarebbe guasto, se tutti i pianeti e la terra fossero eguali al sole, e non patissero, come non pate il sole; talché il desiderio loro non s’adempie, né quello dell’autore, per ordine divino. E poi si prepara alla terza canzone di questa medesima materia.

MADRIGAL 9⁹

- 1 “But why more than others was I subject
to the pains of our life?”
“Because you can expect a better life in this one or the next,
and God shows force in others, but knowledge in you.”
5 “But why did I not get both?”
“Because you are a part, not the whole.” “And why was
the one who gave death to Goliath both strong and wise?”
“What was necessary to him is not now needed by you.”
“Why so?” “Because the fated order
10 was willed most rightly, God made it so.”
Wretched one, I know so much less than I agonize to know!
Have mercy on me, Lord, if You can
shorten and alleviate my pain,
without wasting Your high counsels!

MADRIGAL 10¹⁰

- 1 Song, tell my Lord, that I know well
that every thing could be better
in itself, but not in the universe.
It would already be dispersed,
5 if the other wheels, not lacking, in my desire
were also turned to the sun.
But I have more to say to Him: “Wait
for your third sister, who shall not tarry;
you will go between two other elect
10 and so perhaps be more courageous in seeking grace.”

9. He raises a doubt: Why was he more subject than others to troubles? And he answers: Because greater things await him in this and in the next life, and because God shows His power in others, making them less subject to troubles, and in him His knowledge. And against this answer one could say: for what cause was David wise and strong? He answers that it was necessary for him, but not so now for this author. And, replying, he says that the fated order brought this about, ordered as it was *ab aeterno*. And of this he understands little more, so he concludes that the more that he wants to learn

of these secrets, the less he knows of them. But he turns to pray simply that God help him without wasting His designs, etc.

10. He sends this prayer to God saying that he sees well how he could do better for himself, but not for the whole world, because the world would be wasted if all the planets and the earth were equal to the sun, and they did not suffer as the sun does not suffer; thus their desire is not fulfilled, nor that of the author, according to divine order. Then he prepares himself for the third song on this same subject.

75 Orazioni tre in salmodia metafisicale congiunte insieme

Canzone terza

Della medesima salmodia

MADRIGALE 1¹

- 1 Vengo a te, potentissimo Signore,
sapientissimo Dio,
amorosissimo Ente Primo ed Uno:
miserere del nostro antico errore;
5 cessi omai l'uso rio;
non sia più l'uno all'altro uomo importuno;
tornin, dove io gli aduno,
alla Prima Ragion tua; donde errando,
siamo trascorsi a diverse menzogne,
10 talché ognun par ch'agogne
farsi degli altri dio, gli occhi abbagliando
al popol miserando,
già di cieca paura
sforzato a perseguir chi ben gli adduce;
15 ond'io sto in sepoltura,
perché lor predicai la prima luce.

MADRIGALE 2²

- 1 Per l'Unità ti priego viva e vera,
per cui disfarsi stimo
la discordia, la morte e l'empio inganno;

1. Prega Dio che tutti torniamo tanto alla legge naturale, ch'è quella di Dio, e che cessi la idolatria, le sette false e le guerre cominciate per ragione di Stato e la diversità di principati; e che sia una gregge, un pastore ed una fede. E narra i mali avvenuti dalla divisione d'essa fede naturale, e più gli propri: per che fa ricorso a quella, ecc.

2. Lo prega per gli epiteti suoi eminentissimi: Unità, contraria alla discordia, alla morte e allo tradimento; per la Possanza, Senno e Amore; che ci toglia i danni venuti da finta possanza, finto senno e finto amore, donde è nata la pugna cieca, che ci

facciamo male l'un l'altro senza intendere perché, poiché spesso sono carcerati quegli che dicono il vero, e sono tenuti per eretici, come san Paolo da Nerone e san Piero, ecc. E come in questo laberinto non giova vedere il vero a chi non è armato, perché più è afflitto dall'ingannati e dall'ingannatori, come disse nel sonetto "Gli astrologi," ecc.

75 Three Prayers in One Metaphysical Psalmody Joined Together

Third Song On the Same Psalmody

MADRIGAL 1¹

- 1 I come to You, most powerful Lord,
very wise God,
most loving Prime Being and One:
have mercy on our ancient error;
5 may the evil habit cease;
may one person no longer be a nuisance to another;
may they return to where I gather them,
to Your Prime Reason; from which, erring,
we have gone through various lies,
10 such that it seems that each of us longs
to make other gods for ourselves, dazzling the eyes
of the suffering people,
already in blind fear
forced to follow whoever shows them some good;
15 thus I am in this tomb
because I preached to them the first light.

MADRIGAL 2²

- 1 For Unity, living and true, I beg You,
through Whom I believe, can be undone
discord, death, and impious deception;

1. He prays to God that we all return to natural law, as to that of God, and that He put an end to idolatry, false sects, wars begun for reasons of State and the diversity of nations; and that we be one flock, one pastor, and one faith. And he recounts the evils that have come from the division of that natural faith, and more about his own troubles: so he seeks recourse in that, etc.

2. He prays to Him through His most eminent epithets: Unity, contrary to discord, death, and betrayal; through Power, Intellect, and Love; that He take away the damage done by false power, false intellect,

and false love, whence was born the blind battle, that makes us do evil to each other without understanding why, since often those who speak the truth are incarcerated and are held as heretics, like St. Paul by Nero, and St. Peter, etc. And how in this labyrinth it does not do any good to see the truth for the one who is not armed, because he is all the more afflicted by deceptions and deceivers, as he says in the sonnet "The astrologers," etc.

per la Possanza universal primiera,
 5 e per lo Senno primo
 e per lo primo Amor, ch'un ente fanno;
 toglie omai quel danno,
 che da valor, da senno e d'amor finti,
 tirannide, sofismi, ipocrisia,
 10 spande pur tuttavia;
 che l'alme e i corpi a pugna cieca ha spinti
 fra lacci e laberinti,
 ove par che sia meglio
 non veder l'uscio a chi forza non have;
 15 e me n'hai fatto specchio,
 quando senz'arme m'hai dato la chiave.

MADRIGALE 3³

1 Per le medesime eminenze ch'io soglio
 dir di se stesse oggetti,
 essenza, verità e bontade insieme,
 ti prego, s'io di maschere le spoglio,
 5 quella colpa rimetti,
 che tôrre i falsi dèi dall'uman seme
 vantansi, e più ci preme.
 Chi vide ch'unquanco in terra si faccia
 il tuo voler, sì come si fa in Cielo?
 10 chi d'ignoranza il velo,
 chi il giogo sotto gli empi, che n'allaccia,
 in fatti rompe o straccia?
 Sol libertà può farci
 forti, sagaci e lieti. E 'l suo contrario
 15 valere a consumarci
 di sei milla anni mostra il gran divario.

3. Prega per gli oggetti delle eminenze metafisicali già dette, le quali e' spoglia di maschere, scoprendo la tirannia e la sofistica e la ipocrisia, ecc., che Dio voglia perdonare a tutto il mondo, e far che si faccia in terra il suo volere come si fa in cielo, e che cessi l'ignoranza, la tirannia e la ipocrisia. E che questo non possa essere, se Dio non ci mette in libertà di peccato e di signoria, che pos-

siamo e sappiamo dire il vero. E che gli falsi dèi promettano tutti la beatitudine, e mai non s'è vista ancora. Però debba provvedere il vero Dio.

through the universal primary Power,
 5 and through the prime Intellect
 and through the prime Love, that constitute one being;
 take away that wound now,
 that from false valor, intellect, and love
 still spread
 10 tyranny, sophisms, and hypocrisy;
 which have pushed souls and bodies into blind battles
 into snares and labyrinths,
 where it seems that it might be best
 for the one who does not have force not to see the way
 15 and you have made an example of me,
 when without arms you gave me the key.

MADRIGAL 3³

1 Through the same eminences that I usually
 call objects of themselves
 —essence, truth, and bounty together—
 I pray that if ever I strip away the masks,
 5 You pardon that fault
 of human seed to take false gods,
 which weighs on us the most.
 Who has ever seen that Your will is
 done on earth, as it is in Heaven?
 10 Who the veil of ignorance,
 who the plow under the impious, that binds it,
 in fact, breaks and tears it to pieces?
 Only liberty can make us
 strong, wise, and happy. And its contrary
 15 shows the great divide that
 has consumed us for six thousand years.

3. He prays for the aforementioned objects of the metaphysical eminences, which he strips of masks, uncovering tyranny, sophistry, and hypocrisy, etc., that God will to pardon the whole world, and that His will be done on earth as it is in Heaven, and that He put an end to ignorance, tyranny, and hypocrisy. And that this cannot be if God does not free us from sin and from the pow-

ers that be, so that we can know and say the truth. And he says that the false gods all promise beatitude, but it has never yet been seen. Thus the true God must provide.

MADRIGALE 4⁴

- 1 Poi ti prego, ti supplico e scongiuro
 per l'influenze magne,
 necessità, fato, armonia, che 'l regno
 dell'universo mantengon sicuro,
 5 tue figlie, non compagne;
 per lo spazio, ch'è base al tuo disegno;
 per la mole all'ingegno,
 pel caldo e per lo freddo, d'elementi
 gran fabbrì, e per lo cielo e per la terra,
 10 pe' frutti di lor guerra;
 pel tempo e per le statue tue viventi,
 stelle, uomini ed armenti,
 per tutte l'altre cose;
 per Cristo, Senno tuo, Prima Ragione,
 15 che dalle sorti ascose
 spezzi la crudel mia lunga prigionie.

MADRIGALE 5⁵

- 1 Se mi sciogli, io far scuola ti prometto
 di tutte nazioni
 a Dio liberator, verace e vivo,
 s'a cotanto pensier non è disdetto
 5 il fine a cui mi sproni;
 gl'idoli abbatte, far di culto privo
 ogni dio putativo
 e chi di Dio si serve e a Dio non serve;

4. Prega per l'influenze magne, necessità, fato e armonia, che guidano il mondo, come influenze ed effetti di Dio, e non come cause né concause del suo governo. E questo dice contra i gentili. Poi prega per tutti gli enti fisici, per lo spazio, per la materia, per lo caldo e freddo, per lo cielo e terra, per la generazione che fanno pugnando, per lo tempo, per le statue di Dio vive, che sono, ecc., e per tutte le cose. Alfin conchiude come la Chiesa, per Cristo, Verbo e Sapienza di Dio, rompa la sua prigionia, ecc.

5. Mira qual voto grande d'animo divinissimo! E' pretende fare a Dio una scuola di tutto il mondo, se Dio lo aiuta. Nota che Dio si deve adorar *in spiritu et veritate*, e non in tetti di fango, che i fulmini e gli nidi d'uccelli scherniscono. E così Dio disse ad Isaia: "*quam domum aedificabitis*," ecc., e san Stefano. Ma la Chiesa di Cristo tiene questi, non perché Dio sia legato in loro, ma perché s'unisca il popolo in carità per la conoscenza e culto comune. "Beato chi intende come s'adora!" dice san Bernardo.

MADRIGAL 4⁴

1 Then I beg You, I appeal and beseech
 You through the great influences
 that are Your offspring, not Your companions,
 necessity, fate, and harmony, that keep
 5 secure the kingdom of the universe;
 through the space that is the foundation of Your design;
 through the vast engineering,
 the heat and cold, great makers of
 the elements, and by heaven and earth,
 10 and through the fruits of their war;
 through time and Your living statues
 —stars, men, and herds—and
 through all the other things;
 I pray through Christ, Your Intellect, Prime Reason,
 15 that from hidden destinies
 You break my long cruel imprisonment.

MADRIGAL 5⁵

1 If You free me, I promise to make
 a school of all nations
 to God the liberator, true and living,
 if such a thought does not go against
 5 the end to which You spur me on;
 to beat down idols, deprive of his cult
 every putative god, both the one who uses God for his purposes
 and the one who does not serve God at all.

4. He prays for the great influences that guide the world—necessity, fate, and harmony, which are influences and effects of God, and not causes, nor co-causes of His governance. And this he says against the gentiles. Then he prays for all the physical beings, for space, matter, heat and cold, heaven and earth, and for generation, that they carry on struggling, for time, for the living statues of God like I am, etc. and for all things. In the end he concludes how the Church, through Christ, Word and Wisdom of God may break his prison, etc.

5. Look at how a great vow comes from a most divine soul! He intends to make for God a school of the whole world, if God helps him. He notes that God must be adored *in spiritu et veritate*, and not under roofs of mud that lightning and birds' nests deride. And God said to Isaiah: "*quam domum aedificabitis*," etc., and St. Stephen. But the Church of Christ holds these, not because God is tied to them, but because they unite the people in charity through conscience and common observance. "Blessed is the one who knows how to adore Him," says St. Bernard.

por di ragione il seggio e lo stendardo
 10 contra il vizio codardo;
 a libertà chiamar l'anime serve,
 umiliar le proterve.
 Né a' tetti, ch'avvilisce
 fulmine o belva, dir canzon novelle,
 15 per cui Sion languisce.
 Ma tempio farò il cielo, altar le stelle.

MADRIGALE 6⁶

1 Deh! risorga a pietà l'Amor eterno,
 e l'infinito Senno
 proponga l'opra al gran Valor immenso,
 che il duro scempio del mio lungo inferno
 5 vede senza il mio cenno:
 sei e sei anni, che 'n pena dispenso
 l'afflizion d'ogni senso,
 le membra sette volte tormentate,
 le bestemmie e le favole de' sciocchi,
 10 il sol negato agli occhi,
 i nervi stratti, l'ossa scontinovate,
 le polpe lacerate,
 i guai dove mi corco,
 li ferri, il sangue sparso, e 'l timor crudo,
 15 e 'l cibo poco e sporco;
 in speme degna di tua lancia e scudo.

MADRIGALE 7⁷

1 Farsi scanni gli uman corpi a' giganti,
 gli animi augei di gabbia,

6. Narra e amplifica la preghiera con tanti guai, che patia dentro quella fossa, dopo dodici anni continovi, ecc. I tormenti sono noti.

7. Narra tutti i guai, che da' tiranni sono avvenuti a tutti uomini nel tempo presente e passato, e così da' sofisti e ipocriti. E nota che in senso mistico e metafisico dice assai, parlando di tutte le parti del nostro corpo serventi a quelli; ma con verità delle false adulazioni e testimonianze, e che Dio ne vede più ch'egli dice: e però si muova pel ben comune di tutti, se non per lui si muove, ecc.

I put the seat of reason and the standard
 10 against cowardly vice,
 calling servile souls to freedom,
 to humble the arrogant ones.
 But one cannot sing new hymns under roofs
 that lightning or beast can weaken,
 15 thus Zion languishes.
 But I will make heaven the temple, stars the altar.

MADRIGAL 6⁶

1 Oh! let eternal Love resurge in mercy again,
 and the infinite Intellect
 propose work for the great immense Valor,
 that the difficult suffering of my long hell
 5 sees without my pointing it out;
 six and six years I exonerated in pain,
 affliction of every sense,
 my members tormented seven times,
 the blasphemies and lies of idiots,
 10 the sun denied to my eyes,
 my tendons jerked and bones dislocated,
 my flesh lacerated,
 troubles wherever I lay my head,
 irons, spilt blood, and raw terror,
 15 and measly and filthy food;
 in the hope of being worthy of Your lance and shield.

MADRIGAL 7⁷

1 Benches made for giants out of human bodies,
 their souls, bird cages,

6. He recounts and adds to his prayer the many troubles that he suffers inside the pit, after twelve continuous years, etc. His torments are well known.

7. He recounts all the troubles that come from tyrants to all men in present and past times, and the same from sophists and hypocrites. And he notes that in mystical and metaphysical senses much is said, speaking of all the parts of our body serving them; but in truth they are false adulations and testimonies, and God sees more of them than he says. So one should act to the common good of all, not for oneself, etc.

bevanda il sangue, e di lor prave voglie
 le carni oggetto, e le fatiche e i pianti
 5 giuoco dell'empia rabbia,
 maniche a' ferri usati a nostre doglie
 l'ossa, e le cuoia spoglie;
 de' nostri sensi, testimoni e spie
 false contra noi stessi; e ch'ogni lingua
 10 l'altrui virtute estingua,
 e fregi i vizi lor con dicerie,
 vedrai da queste arpie
 più dal tuo tribunale.
 Che pel tuo onor, mia angoscia se non basta,
 15 ti muova il comun male,
 a cui la provvidenza più sovrasta.

MADRIGALE 8⁸

1 Se favor tanto a me non si dovea
 per destino o per fallo,
 sette monti, arti nuove e voglia ardente
 perché m'hai dato a far la gran semblea,
 5 e 'l primo albo cavallo,
 con senno e pazienza tanta gente
 vincere? Dunque, mente
 tanto stuol di profeti che tu mandi?
 ed ogn'anima santa, che già aspetta
 10 veder la tua vendetta,
 falsa sarà per gloria di nefandi?
 Più prodigi e più grandi
 il tuo Nume schernito,
 qual muto idolo, agogna oggi, che quei
 15 ch' i mostri han sovvertito
 di Samaria, d'Egitto e di Caldei.

8. Dice che Dio, avendogli fatto tanti favori di dargli nuove scienze, sette monti in testa prodigiosi, e volontà di fare la scuola del Primo Senno per divino istinto, e 'l cavallo bianco, ch'è l'ordine sacerdotale dominicano, e 'l vincere tanti tormenti e tormentatori, ciò è segno che Dio l'abbia da liberare per qualche gran cosa. E questo

mostra da' profeti e santi: vedi Brigida, Vincenzo, Catarina; e dal desiderio comune, ecc. Poi dice che più miracoli ci vogliono a questo tempo, che non quando Moise ed Elia e Daniele, ecc., vinsero. Perché Dio è tenuto come idolo muto, secondo ch' e' dice a santa Brigida, ecc.

their blood a drink, and of their depraved whims
 their flesh is the object, and their toils and weeping
 5 are to the impious rage, a game,
 iron burners used on our aching
 bones and naked flesh;
 the testimonies and false spies
 of our senses are against us; and every tongue
 10 extinguishes the virtues of others,
 and polishes their vices with sayings;
 from Your high court You will see all this
 and more from these harpies.
 If for Your honor, my anguish is not enough,
 15 may the common suffering move You,
 for Whom providence reigns supreme.

MADRIGAL 8⁸

1 If You did not mean to give me such great favor
 by destiny or by error,
 seven bumps, new arts, and ardent desire,
 why did You give me the great assembly,
 5 and the first white horse,
 with intellect and patience to conquer
 so many people? And that throng
 of lying prophets whom You send?
 and every holy soul that already waits
 10 to see Your vendetta,
 will it be false for the glory of the nefarious?
 Your Light will be derided,
 more prodigious and grander still
 as a mute idol, longed for today, than those
 15 that the monsters subverted
 from Samaria, Egypt, and the Caldeans.

8. He says that God, having given him
 so many favors, granting him the new sci-
 ences, seven prodigious bumps on his head,
 the will to make the school of the Prime
 Intellect by divine instinct, the white horse,
 which is the priestly Dominican order,
 and triumph over so many torments and
 tormenters, will free him for some great

thing. And this is shown by prophets and
 saints: see Brigit, Vincent, Catherine; and by
 common desire, etc. Then he says that more
 miracles are needed in this time than when
 Moses, Elijah, Daniel, etc., conquered. Thus
 God is held as a mute idol, according to
 what he says about St. Brigit, etc.

MADRIGALE 9⁹

- 1 Tre canzon, nate a un parto
da questa mia settimontana testa,
al suon dolente di pensosa squilla,
ch'ostetrica sortilla,
5 ite al Signor, con facce e voce mesta
gridando miserere
del duol, che 'l vostro padre ange e funesta.
Né sia chi rieda a darmi altra novella
dal Rettor delle sfere
10 che 'l fin promesso dell'istoria bella
(sia stato falso o vero il messaggiere),
cantando: "Viva, viva Campanella!"

80 Canzone a Berillo di pentimento, desideroso di
confessione, ecc., fatta nel Caucaso

MADRIGALE 1¹

- 1 Signor, troppo peccai, troppo, il conosco;
Signor, più non m'ammiro
del mio atroce martiro.
Né le mie abbominevoli preghiere
5 di medicina, ma di mortal tosco
fùr degne. Ahi, stolto e losco!
Dissi: "Giudica, Dio," non "Miserere."
Ma l'alta tua benigna sofferenza,
per cui più volte non mi fulminasti,

9. Dà commiato a tutte le tre canzoni, fatte in un tempo stesso e in un soggetto, come tre sorelle d'un parto, ecc. Dice che non tornino senza il fine promesso in certe visioni, che si canterà: "Viva Campanella" nel fine di questo suo carcere, e cose altre mirabili, ch'egli dice nell'*Antimacchiavellismo*; e ch' e' fu deluso dal Diavolo, ecc.

1. Parla a Dio e riconosce quelli peccati, che gli parean atti meritorii.

MADRIGALE 9⁹

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MADRIGAL 9⁹

- 1 Three songs, born in one birth
from this my head of seven bumps,
to the doleful sound of my thoughtful bell,
that a midwife brings forth,
5 go to the Lord, with sad face and voice
crying mercy
on the pain that your father suffers and struggles.
Nor should any one of you come back to give me other news
of the Rector of the spheres
10 than the promised end of this beautiful history
(whether it was a false or true messenger),
singing: "Long live, long live Campanella!"

80 Song to Father Berillo in Repentance, Desiring
Confession, etc., Made from the Caucasus

MADRIGAL 1¹

- 1 Lord, too much have I sinned, too much, I know;
Lord, I do not admire myself anymore
for my atrocious martyrdom.
Nor were my abominable prayers
5 worthy of a cure, but of a
mortal poison. Oh, fool and trickster!
I said: "Judge, God," not, "Mercy."
But Your high benign patience,
for which many times You did not fulminate me,

9. He takes his leave of all three songs, made at the same time on one subject, like three sisters from one birth, etc. He says that they should not return without bringing about the end promised in certain visions in which will be sung: "Long live Campanella" at the end of this, his imprisonment, and other wondrous things that he says in *Against Machiavellism*; and that he was deceived by the Devil, etc.

1. He speaks to God and acknowledges those sins that once seemed to him meritorious acts.

- 10 mi dà qualche credenza
che perdonanza alfin mi riserbasti.

MADRIGALE 2

- 1 Quattordici anni invan patisco (ahi lasso!),
sempre errore accrescendo
a me stesso, ed agli altri persuadendo
ch'io per difender verità e giustizia
5 da Dio, c'ho sconosciuto, sia qua basso,
qual Cristo, eletto sasso
a franger l'ignoranza e la malizia.
Or ti vorrei pregar che, per discolpa
di tanti errori, accetti tante pene;
10 se non è nuova colpa
chieder ch'agli empì guai segua alcun bene.

MADRIGALE 3

- 1 Io merito niente esser disfatto,
Signor mio, quando penso
l'opere prave mie e 'l perverso senso.
Poi, mirando ch'io son pur tua fattura,
5 che tocca riconciliarla a chi l'ha fatto,
ch'io bramo esser rifatto
nel tuo cospetto nuova creatura,
questa sola ragion sola mi resta.
Onde sol fine al mio lungo tormento
10 chieggi, non quella festa,
né del prodigo figlio il gran contento.

MADRIGALE 4²

- 1 Io mi credevo Dio tener in mano,
non seguitando Dio,
ma l'argute ragion del senno mio,
che a me ed a tanti ministrâr la morte.

2. Niuno deve predicare novità o cose
dove pensa che s'abbia a migliorare la
Repubblica, se da Dio visibilmente non è
mandato e, come Moise, armato di miracoli
e contrassegni, ecc.

- 10 gives me some belief
that You held out pardon for me in the end.

MADRIGAL 2

- 1 Fourteen years I have suffered in vain (woe is me!),
always accumulating more errors on
myself, while persuading others
that I am here below because I defend the truth and justice
5 that comes from God, Whom I disowned,
and like Christ, I, elect rock,
am here to crush ignorance and evil.
Now I want to pray to You that as payment for my many errors,
You accept my many sufferings;
10 if it is not a new sin
to ask that on impious troubles may follow some good.

MADRIGAL 3

- 1 I deserve nothing else but to be undone,
my Lord, when I think
on my depraved works and my perverse sense.
Then, seeing that I am still Your creature,
5 who must reconcile with the One Who made him,
I yearn to be remade
a new creature in Your image.
Only this thought remains to me.
Thus only one end to my long torment
10 do I ask, not that celebration,
nor the great satisfaction of the prodigal son.

MADRIGAL 4²

- 1 I believed I had God in my hand,
not following God,
but the keen reasonings of my own intellect,
which brought death to me and to many others.

2. Nobody should preach new things or
issues one thinks can improve the Republic,
if the message is not sent visibly from
God, and, like Moses, one is not armed with
miracles and countersigns, etc.

- 5 Benché sagace e pio, l'ingegno umano
divien cieco e profano,
se pensa migliorar la comun sorte,
pria che mostrarti a' sensi suoi, Dio vero,
e mandarlo ed armarlo non ti degni,
10 come tuo messaggiero,
di miracolo e pruove e contrassegni.

MADRIGALE 5³

- 1 Altri il Demonio, altri l'astuzia propria
spinse a far cose nuove,
permettente Colui che 'l tutto muove,
per ragion parte chiare e parte oscure.
5 Laonde chi di senso ha maggior copia,
spesso sente più inopia,
empiendosi di false conghietture,
che i divi ambasciator sien anche tali;
e la bontà di Dio, che condescende
10 e si mostra a' mortali,
disconosce, discrede e non intende.

MADRIGALE 6⁴

- 1 Osserva, uomo, osserva quella legge,
nella qual nato sei:
prencipe e sacerdoti sienti dèi,
e i lor precetti divini, quantunque
5 paiano ingiusti a te ed a tutto il gregge;
se Dio, per cui si regge,
diluvi, incendi e ferro usa quandunque
par giusto, e così que' ministri d'ira.
Dove Dio tace e vuole, taci e vogli;

3. Come quelli che predicarono novità, non tutti furon da Dio mandati, ma dal demonio, come Maometto e Minos; altri dalla prudenza, come Pitagora, ecc.; onde molti pensano che anche Moise e gli profeti sieno così venuti, e s'ingannano.

4. Che l'uomo deve comportare i tiranni, mentre da Dio sono permessi, il quale usa questi flagelli e fuoco e peste e guerra; e dove non ti dice altro, sta chieto, prega, ecc., e non ti mettere ad aiutare con novità, ecc.

5 Wise and pious, human intelligence
becomes blind and profane,
if it believes it can better the common good,
before showing You its meanings, true God,
and You do not deign to send and arm it
10 as your messenger
with miracles, proofs, and countersigns.

MADRIGAL 5³

1 Some the Demon, others their own cleverness
pushed to bring about new things,
permitted by Him Who moves everything,
for reasons partly clear and partly obscure.
5 Whence the one who has greater understanding
often feels more incapacity,
puffing himself up with false conjectures,
thinking that the heavenly ambassadors are even like that;
and that one disowns, disbelieves, and does not understand
10 God's goodness, which condescends
and shows itself to mortals.

MADRIGAL 6⁴

1 Observe, mortal, observe that law
under which you were born:
let those divine precepts, although they may
seem unjust to you and to the whole sheepfold,
5 be your prince and ministers;
if God, through Whom the law reigns,
uses floods, fires, and weapons whenever it seems just
to Him, so too those precepts are ministers of His wrath.
Where God is silent and wills, you be silent and will;

3. Like those who preached new things,
not all of them were sent by God, but rather
by the demon, like Mohammed and Minos;
others out of prudence, like Pythagoras,
etc.; thus many think that Moses and the
prophets were also sent like them, but they
are deceived.

4. That man must endure tyrants, while
they are permitted by God, Who uses these
whips and fires and plagues and wars;
and where He does not tell you otherwise,
remain silent, etc., and do not begin to help
with these new things, etc.

- 10 con voti al porto aspira,
schifando via, non offrendo, i scogli.

MADRIGALE 7

- 1 Chi schernisce i decreti, ovvero ammenda,
o col peccato scherza,
o di quel gode, o per la prima sferza
da errar non fugge più che dal colubro,
5 o l'occulta giustizia non gli è orrenda:
costui misero intenda
ch'è preso all'ami; e que' ch'al lido Rubro
ostinati perîr, giugi al mio esempio.⁵
Quanto ha il peccato in sé bruttezza e puzza
10 pria non conosce l'empio,
che, qual Antioco, inverminisce e puzza.⁶

MADRIGALE 8⁷

- 1 Ma tu quei miri, che peccano impune,
lieti e tranquilli sempre;
ma non penètri le segrete tempre
dell'uomo interior, e però sparli;
5 ché forse è di quel mal, che pensi, immune;
o pene ha più importune,
sdegno, sospetto, zelo, interni tarli;
né guardi il fin, né le divine ire,
quanto più tarde, tanto più gagliarde.
10 O ciò ne forza a dire:
“Necessario è l'inferno, che sempre arde.”

MADRIGALE 9⁸

- 1 Tardi, Padre, ritorno al tuo consiglio,
tardi il medico invoco;

5. Grande avvertimento e chiaro.

6. Mira quando uno empio arriva a conoscer il peccato.

7. Nota che non segue, perché non si vede la pena de' malvagi, che però ella non ci sia, sendo o occulta o futura; o e' non sono tristi come a te pare. O vero questo è,

perché conosciamo che ci resta la giustizia dell'altro secolo, e crediamo l'inferno, ecc.

8. Mira come la risoluzione di viver bene è impedita da' mali abiti; come cerca con la prudenza umana uscir da quel male, donde non può umanamente.

- 10 hope for the port with your vows,
steering clear of the cliffs, not grating against them.

MADRIGAL 7

- 1 One who scorns the decrees, or rather amends them,
or plays with sin, or derives pleasure in it,
or does not flee after the first lashing
of error any more than he would from a serpent,
5 or to whom hidden justice is not horrendous:
let that wretched one understand
that he has been hooked; and those who stubbornly
perish on the red shore, also illustrate my example.⁵
The impious one does not know at first
10 how ugly and stinky sin is,
but, like Antiochus, it produces worms and stinks.⁶

MADRIGAL 8⁷

- 1 But you admire those who sin without punishment,
always happy and without worries;
but you do not penetrate the secret fibers
of men's interior, and so you speak falsely
5 because perhaps you think them immune to that evil.
Oh, that man has more troublesome pains,
scorn, suspicion, zeal, internal worms;
nor do you look to the end, nor to divine wrath,
the longer the wait, the happier the outcome.
10 Oh, one is forced to say of it:
"Necessary is hell, which always burns."

MADRIGAL 9⁸

- 1 Late, Father, I return to your advice,
late I call the doctor;

5. A great and clear warning.

6. See when one of the impious arrives
at knowledge of one's sin.

7. He notes that it does not follow.

Although one does not see the suffering of
evildoers, that does not mean, however, that
their suffering is not there, since it is hidden
or yet to come; or they are not as miserable

as it seems to you that they should be. This
is true because we know that justice in the
other century awaits, and we believe in
hell, etc.

8. See how one's resolution to live well
is impeded by bad habits; and see how one
seeks with human prudence to escape from
that evil, though it is humanly impossible.

tanto aggravato, il morbo non dà loco.
 Quanto più alzar vo' gli occhi al tuo splendore,
 5 più mi sento abbagliar, gravarmi il ciglio.
 Poi con fiero periglio
 dal lago inferior tento uscir fuore
 con quelle forze che non ho, meschino.
 Meschino me, per me stesso perduto,
 10 ché l'aiuto divino,
 che sol salvarmi può, bramo e rifiuto!

MADRIGALE 10⁹

1 Desio di desiar tue grazie tengo:
 certa, evidente vita,
 quando voglia possente a te m'invita,
 e quando è fiacca, avaccio sento il danno;
 5 su l'ale del voler non mi sostengo
 rotte e bagnate. Vengo
 a que' favor, che sì pregar mi fanno:
 "Deh! pregate per me voi, ch'io non posso,
 voi, Piero e Paolo, luminar del cielo,
 10 Radamante e Minosso
 della celeste legge e del Vangelo."

MADRIGALE 11

1 Merti non ho per quelli gran peccata,
 che contra te ho commesso.
 Madre di Cristo, e voi che state appresso,
 spirti beati, abitator del lume,
 5 che 'l mondo adempie e sol la terra ingrata
 ancor non ha purgata;
 prego contra ragion, contra il costume,
 ch' al vostro capital fiero inimico
 impetrate da lui qualche perdono,
 10 ch' a' peccator fu amico;
 poiché tra gli empi il maggior empio io sono.

9. Vedendo che ha il desiderio di desi-
 derare, ma non del desiderato aiuto, e che
 quando si movea a Dio, subito sentia aiuto, e

quando la voglia era lenta, sentia il danno, si
 risolve di dimandare aiuto, ecc.

the fever, so far advanced, does not break.
 Although I want to raise my eyes to Your splendor,
 5 I feel my brow defeated and weighed down.
 Then in peril I bravely
 try to escape from the low lake
 with those strengths I lack, poor thing.
 Poor me, lost because of myself,
 10 since divine aid is all
 that can save me, I yearn for it and still refuse it!

MADRIGAL 10⁹

1 I have the desire to desire Your graces:
 certain, evident life,
 when powerful will invites me to You,
 and when it is weak, right away I sense the harm;
 5 on the wing of will I cannot sustain myself,
 broken and drowned. I come
 through those favors that make me pray so:
 “Oh! pray for me, because I cannot,
 you, Peter and Paul, lights of heaven,
 10 Radamant and Minos
 of the heavenly law and the Gospel.”

MADRIGAL 11

1 I have no merits for those great sins
 that I committed against You.
 Mother of God, and those of you near Her,
 blessed spirits, residents of the light
 5 that fills the world and has not yet purged
 only the ungrateful earth;
 I pray against reason, against custom,
 that you beseech from Him some pardon
 for your most proud enemy,
 10 who was friend of sinners;
 because among the impious I was the greatest.

9. Seeing that he has the desire to desire, aid, and when the will was slow, he sensed
 but not the desired aid, and that when he the harm, so he resolves to ask for aid, etc.
 moves toward God, immediately he senses

MADRIGALE 12

- 1 Ah, come mi sta sempre innanzi agli occhi,
come mi fere e punge,
come l'alma dal corpo mi disgiunge,
e la fiducia dall'alma mi svelle
5 il gran fallo mio, gli atti miei sciocchi!
"Tu, che mi senti e tocchi,
aria, tu, vivo ciel, voi, sacre stelle,
e voi, spirti volanti dento a loro,
ch'or m'ascoltate, ed io non veggio voi,
10 mirate al mio martoro;
di voi sicuri, pregate per noi."

MADRIGALE 13

- 1 Canzon grave e dolente
delle mie iniquitati,
corri a Berillo¹⁰ vivo, da Dio eletto
a purgar l'alme da' brutti peccati.
5 Di' che la mia si pente;
ch' e' faccia il sacro effetto,
invocando per me l'Omnipotente.

89 Al Sole¹

nella primavera per desio di caldo

- 1 M'esaudi al contrario Giano. La giusta preghiera
drizzola a te, Febo, ch'orni la scola mia.
Veggoti nell'Ariete, levato a gloria, ed ogni
vital sostanza or emola farsi tua.
5 Tu sublimi, avvivi e chiami e festa novella
ogni segreta cosa, languida, morta e pigra.
Desh! avviva coll'altre me anche, o nume potente,
cui più ch'agli altri caro ed amato sei.

10. Berillo è don Basilio di Pavia, di santità e carità e amicizia singolare con esso lui.

1. Il sole è insegna della semblea d'esso autore.

MADRIGALE 12

- 1 Ah, come mi sta sempre innanzi agli occhi,
come mi fere e punge,
come l'alma dal corpo mi disgiunge,
e la fiducia dall'alma mi svelle
5 il gran fallo mio, gli atti miei sciocchi!
"Tu, che mi senti e tocchi,
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e voi, spirti volanti dento a loro,
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10. Berillo è don Basilio di Pavia, di santità e carità e amicizia singolare con esso lui.

1. Il sole è insegna della semblea d'esso autore.

MADRIGAL 12

- 1 Ah, how it is always before my eyes,
how it hurts and stabs me,
how it separates the soul from my body,
and it rips faith from my soul,
5 my great fault, my foolish actions!
“You, who feel and touch me,
air, you, living sky, you, sacred stars,
and you, flying spirits within them,
listen to me now, and though I do not see you,
10 look at my martyrdom;
you, saved ones, pray for us.”

MADRIGAL 13

- 1 Song, heavy and grieving
because of my iniquities,
run quickly to Berillo,¹⁰ elect of God
to purge my soul of its ugly sins.
5 Tell him that my soul repents;
that he should make the holy sign,
invoking for me the Omnipotent.

89 To the Sun¹

During Springtime Out of the Desire for Warmth

- 1 Janus granted me the contrary. My just prayer
I address to you, Phoebus, who adorn my school.
I see you in Aries, arisen to glory, and every
vital substance now seeks to become yours.
5 You sublimate, revive, and call every languid,
dead, lazy, and secret thing to a new celebration.
Oh! powerful luminary, along with the others revive me also,
who loves and seeks to delight you more than the others.

10. Berillo is the saintly and charitable
Don Basilio of Pavia, who is united to him in
singular friendship.

1. The sun is the badge of this author's
assembly.

Se innanzi a tutti te, Sole altrissimo, onoro,
 10 perché di tutti più, al buio, gelato tremo?
 Esca io dal chiuso, mentre al tuo lume sereno
 d'ime radici sorge la verde cima.
 Le virtù ascose ne' tronchi d'alberi, in alto
 in fior conversi, a prole soave tiri.
 15 Le gelide vene ascose si risolvono in acqua
 pura, che, sgorgando lieta, la terra riga.
 I tassi e ghiri dal sonno destansi lungo;
 a' minimi vermi spirito e moto dà.
 Le smorte serpi al tuo raggio tornano vive:
 20 invidia, misero, tutta la chera loro.²
 Muoiono in Irlanda per mesi cinque, gelando,
 gli augelli, e mo pur s'alzano ad alto volo.
 Tutte queste opere son del tuo santo vigore,
 a me conteso, fervido amante tuo.
 25 Credesi ch'oggi anche Giesù da morte resurse;
 quando me vivo il rigido avello preme.
 L'olive secche han da te pur tanto favore:
 rampolli verdi mandano spesso sopra.
 Vivo io, non morto, verde e non secco mi trovo,
 30 benché cadavero per te seppelito sia.
 Scrissero le genti a te senso e vita negando,
 e delle mosche fecerti degno meno.³
 Sciss'io ch'egli erano eretici, a te ingrati e ribelli;
 m'han sotterrato, vindice fatto tuo.
 35 Da te le mosche e gl'inimici prendono gioia;
 esserti, se séguiti, mosca o nemico meglio è.
 Nullo di te conto si farà, se io spento rimango:
 quel tuo gran titolo meco sepolto fia.
 Tempio vivo sei, statua e venerabile volto,
 40 del verace Dio pompa e suprema face.
 Padre di natura e degli astri rege beato,
 vita, anima e senso d'ogni seconda cosa;⁴

2. Tutti gli effetti che fa il sole la primavera.

3. Dicono molti che la mosca è più nobile del sole, perché ha anima. E l'autore dice che il sole è tutto senso e vita, e la dà agli enti bassi.

4. Titoli del sole, dati dall'autore.

If I honor you, highest Sun, before all others,
 10 why do I tremble frozen more than everyone else in the dark?
 That I might walk from this enclosure while your serene light
 from the lowest roots to the green summit rises.
 The virtues hidden in the trunks of trees
 you converted into flowers on high, you draw your offspring gently.
 15 The gelid hidden veins melt into pure water
 that gushing out happily furrows the earth.
 The badgers and dormice are roused from their long sleep;
 you give spirit and motion to the tiniest worms.
 The wan serpents at your ray return to life:
 20 I, wretched, envy the whole lot of them.²
 The birds in Ireland die, frozen for five months,
 and now they even rise to high flights.
 All these works of your holy vigor,
 are denied to me, your fervid lover.
 25 It was thought that today Jesus also arose from death
 while the rigid sepulchre weighs down on me alive.
 Dried olive branches hold so much favor for you:
 they often send up their green shoots above.
 I find myself alive, not dead, green but not dried,
 30 although I am a cadaver buried on account of you.
 People wrote to you denying sense and life,
 and they made you worth less than flies.³
 I wrote that they were heretics, rebellious and ungrateful to you;
 they buried me, because I vindicated you.
 35 The flies and enemies receive joy from you;
 so it must follow that it is better to be a fly or your enemy.
 No one will pay attention to you if I remain darkened:
 that great title of yours shall remain buried with me.
 You are a living temple, statue and venerable countenance,
 40 the magnified and supreme face of the true God.
 Father of nature and blessed king of the stars,
 life, soul, and sense of every secondary thing;⁴

2. All the effects that the sun makes in the spring.

3. Many say that the fly is more noble than the sun because it has a soul. And the author says that the sun is all sense and life, and gives it to the inferior beings.

4. Titles of the sun given by the author.

sotto gli auspici di cui, ammirabile scola
al Primo Senno filosofando fei.

45 Gli angelici spirti in te fan lietissima vita:
a sì gran vite viva si deve casa.

Cerco io per tanti meriti quel candido lume,
ch'a nullo mostro non si ritenne mai.

Se 'l fato è contra, tu appella al Principe Senno,
50 ch'al simulacro suo grazia nulla nega.

Angelici spirti, invocate il principe Cristo,
del mondo erede, a darmi la luce sua.

Omnipotente Dio, gli empi accuso ministri,
ch'a me contendon quel che benigno dà.

55 Tu miserere, Dio, tu chi sei larghissimo fonte
di tutte luci: venga la Luce Tua.⁵

5. Solo desidera vedere la luce del sole,
che, dentro alla fossa stando, non potea ve-
der mai. E dice al sole che, s' e' non può, egli
appelli a Dio, Primo Senno; e così si volge a
Dio dal sole, e prega che gli dia la sua luce,
che gli negano i ministri della giustizia finta
in terra, ecc.

under the auspices of whom You,
 philosophizing make the admirable school of the Prime Intellect.
 45 The angelic spirits enjoy their happiest life in you:
 to such great living vines are owed a home.
 I seek for so many merits that candid light,
 that was never denied to any being, no matter how monstrous.
 If fate is contrary, invoke the Principle Intellect,
 50 Who denies no grace to His image.
 Angelic spirits, invoke Christ the prince,
 Heir of the world, that I might be given His light.
 Omnipotent God, I accuse the impious ministers
 who deny me that which You give freely.
 55 Have mercy on me God. You Who are the widest fount
 of all lights: let Your Light come.⁵

5. He only wants to see the light of the
 sun, which he could not ever see while being
 held inside a pit. And he says to the sun that
 if it cannot, it should call on God, the Prime
 Intellect; and thus he turns to God from the
 sun and prays that He give him His light,
 which the false ministers of justice on earth
 deny him, etc.

Annotations

The annotations are mine unless otherwise indicated by the initials of other scholars in parentheses. I rely for most of those attributed annotations, including all of the indications of the compositions' chronology, on Luigi Firpo (indicated by LF). Where more recent Campanella annotators differ from him, I indicate their contributions with their initials, too. For example, Lina Bolzoni is denoted by LB, Germana Ernst by GE, Francesco Giancotti by FG, and Adriano Seroni by AS. All of their contributions I have rendered as closely as possible into English. Of course, all of these scholars relied on previous contributors, sometimes attributing their intellectual debts, but oftentimes not. (Thus I am not trying to determine the originality of the annotators' contributions, as much as I am acknowledging whose annotations I am translating into English.)

The original work contains a brief preface by Tobia Adami, a German friend and admirer of Campanella, who received Campanella's poems, as well as other works by him, during periodic visits to Campanella in various prisons.

1. Proem

Sonnet with Italian rhyme scheme ABBA ABBA CDC DCD.

According to Firpo, this sonnet was probably composed in the dungeon of Castel Sant'Elmo between 1604 and 1608 (*Tutte le opere*, 1317). Campanella intended this poem as a proem to the entire collection of his philosophical poems. By "philosophical poetry," Campanella understood a particular kind of verse that is not merely beautiful, but also useful, instructional, or "architectonic." According to what he writes in his *Poetics* (particularly in chapter 4 of the Latin version), poetry offers a unique medium for knowledge, capable of allowing readers to retain more of what they read than prose can because arduous concepts are presented in a more lovely manner in poetry, and this rhythmic form can be a mnemonic device.

LINE 1. The progenitors in Campanella's personal idealized genealogy are *Senno*, a masculinely gendered term in Italian for "nous" or "eternal intellect," and *Sofia*, the femininely gendered term for "created wisdom." Wisdom is thus the "mother" of verse 4 and the referent of "she" and "her" in verse 5. "Husband" in verse 5 and "him" in verse 6 refer to *Senno*, or "Intellect."

LINE 2. "The good, true, and beautiful" are defining characteristics of Campanella's three "proprinciples," which he will define at greater length in poem 3 as asso-

ciated with God, according to His “Possanza, Senno, Amore” (Power, Intellect, Love [v. 1]), a singular, immense God who is “vita, verità, bontate” (life, truth, and goodness [v. 2]); cf. Dante, *Inf.* 3.5–6: “la divina podestate, / la soma sapienza e ‘l primo amore,” which is not the only Dantean allusion in this poem. See also “a sé rubello” in *Inf.* 28.136, “latte” in *Purg.* 22.102 and *Par.* 23.57, and “le seconde scuole” in *Par.* 29.70 (FG, 10).

LINE 3. *a sé rubello*: rebelling against itself, that is, rebelling against one’s own nature (LB), or rebelling against or distancing oneself from the true divine Wisdom that is the origin of every created thing, thus falling into error, a false knowledge (GE, 152).

LINE 10. *seconde scuole*: The “second schools” of man, as opposed to God’s school in nature, is scholarship based on authority more than experience or observation, particularly work that relies on Aristotle’s authority. These second schools are frequently the object of Campanella’s harshest scorn.

LINE 11. The “second schools,” according to Campanella, can show only the very smallest part of the truth, that is, a finger’s length, a piece of grain’s weight, or a thimble’s volume. It is characteristic of Campanella’s poetry to make frequent reference to quotidian, humble objects, as he does here to the piece of grain and the thimble, for instance.

LINE 13. *doglia, superbia e l’ignoranza*: “Grief, haughtiness, and ignorance” are three human vices that, if tempered in God’s fire, can be transformed into good qualities. Pain, in which all human beings are born, if properly tempered, can lead in Campanella’s vision to ultimate triumph and joy; pride, the sin from which all other sins derive, can become true humility; and ignorance, the starting point for all human knowledge, can become wisdom. Giancotti seems to favor a meaning for “stemprate” in verse 14 that is closer to “melt down” or “dissolve”: “The Promethean fire that dissolves the shadows of ignorance by virtue of its direct illumination in nature is juxtaposed with the ‘second schools’ of v. 10” (FG, 11).

LINE 14. *stemprate al fuoco ch’io rubbai dal sole*: Campanella figures himself in the role of Prometheus, the Titan in mythology who stole fire from the gods and gave it to mankind. For his act to illuminate human beings, Zeus condemned Prometheus to punishment in the Caucasus mountains, which Campanella will understand as his prison cell in poems 71 and 80, for example. For more detail concerning Campanella’s personal mythology, see Roush, “Prometheus, Jonah, Christ.”

2. A’ Poeti

Sonnet with Italian rhyme scheme ABBA ABBA CDC DCD.

This poem, according to Firpo, expounds the concept that also inspired Campanella’s 1596 Italian treatise on *Poetics*; the poem and treatise may have been composed contemporaneously (LF, 1317). Particularly relevant to this poem is the Italian *Poetics*, chapter 4, titled “The Duty of the Poet.” The poem asserts the degradation of architectonic poetry since the “age of old” (v. 8); those who write in the current fashion of poetry, he suggests, are proud, hypocritical, ceremonious types who prefer subtleties to intellect, zeal to true love, and primping (as by means of cosmetics) to a beauty that derives from substance, and so on. The reference in Campanella’s self-commentary

to Aristotle is to *Poetics* 1450a (GE, 154), and the reference to Nathan and David is to 2 Kings 12 (LF, 1317).

LINES 5–6. Poem 36 will express more amply Campanella's polemic with poets who write of "pretend heroes" and such. While Campanella may refer to classical and mythological heroes in his disdain for "pretend heroes," my impression is that Campanella is even more incensed by poets of his age who by means of imitation continue to write about fictional characters of any previous age, rather than compose poems in praise of those he considers admirable, more temporally proximate exemplars (such as Christopher Columbus, Ferdinand Magellan, Ferdinand Cortés, or Francis Drake, for instance, who are mentioned in the fourth chapter of Campanella's Italian *Poetics*).

LINE 9. Even for Campanella the poet, words are not sufficient unto themselves, but must be substantiated with actions, or observations in nature. In other words, Campanella's poetry is a call to action. In an indirect way, this verse may be echoing 1.12.

3. Fede Naturale del Vero Sapiente

This 109-line poem in Dantean terza rima incatenata is deliberately missing words at verses 77–78. Rhyme scheme is ABA BCB CDC DED, and so on; final verse is an isolated hendecasyllable that rhymes with the central verse of the preceding tercet.

"Condensed in these tercets, thick with high and obscure concepts, are an entire metaphysics and natural theology, investigated by the light of a trusted rationalism and an impatience to investigate the ultimate secrets of the universe. Labored verses, arduous images, and synthetic expressions nonetheless do not suffocate the intimate spiritual harmony of this song, which is revived in the perennial joyous awareness of this expansion throughout creation of a light of the intellect that shines between Creator and creature. The fullness of this optimistic humanism and the pride implicit in it demonstrate that these verses cannot have been written after 1603, since the crisis of Castel Sant'Elmo is not present" (LF, 1317–18).

LINES 1–3. This poem serves as a creed for Campanella, as he states in his first self-commentative note on this poem. His God is one in three persons: 1) Power/life/prime or first being, 2) Intellect/truth/king of beings, and 3) Love/goodness/creator.

LINE 13. God is One in unity and essence, but we human beings, His creatures and parts, are multiple, thus engendering opposition and contrast among entities.

LINE 16. *Duello* I translate as "dualities," but Campanella presents a play on words. Differences, dualities, cause duels, that is, fighting or strife.

NOTE 6. Following Telesio's understanding of matter and contraries (see the introduction), when a being seems to die, it gives life to other beings. Thus there is "transmutation" (change), not death.

NOTE 7. *Metaphysics* 9.17.3 (LF, 1318) or 3.11.17.3 (LB).

LINE 30. Sin has its origin in the privileging of a lesser good over a greater one, in putting human laws before the first laws of nature, which are eternal and immutable (GE, 156).

LINE 31. Ironically for Campanella, the power to sin is true powerlessness, and his language is deliberately sexual.

LINE 33. See Dante's *Purgatory* 17.103–5 (LB).

LINES 40–45. The effect of parents' sin, suffering, falls to their children, but not their guilt, in as much as children who learn from the consequences avoid sin, provided they do not have weak wills. In any case, the guilt is reflected back onto the parents and stays there, since they did not respect the correct rules of generation, according to what Campanella also writes in his *City of the Sun* (GE, 157). In other words, parents take both the blame and punishment for a sinning child because they generated and poorly raised the child; but the child receives only punishment, not blame, from parents. Society (*patria*), which has more intellect than individuals have, according to Campanella, is responsible for both evils, since it provides properly for neither the good generation nor the education of its people.

LINE 41. The meaning of *taccagna* is much debated among Campanella commentators. Bolzoni favors *avara*, *miserabile* ("greedy, wretched"), a will that is weak, hesitant, deprived of any autonomous action. Giancotti suggests a meaning closer to *pertinace*, *ostinata* ("persistent, obstinate").

LINE 43. "it" refers to "suffering" (from line 40).

LINE 54. The word that I translate as "maiden" here is *fanciulla* in the original. It is unclear whether Campanella intends a more forceful condemnation of heretical deceivers through the reference to a maiden or little girl (gendered deliberately as feminine), or whether there may be some more specifically sexual deception implied here, but not mentioned in Campanella's self-commentary to the previous stanzas concerning the sins invoked in the procreation of new generations of offspring.

LINE 57. In the *Aforismi politici* (n. 77), Campanella affirms that God "often answered through idols." Campanella cites the example of the Pythoness's evocations and Balaam's prophecies (see 1 Kings 28, and Numbers 22–24) (LF, 1318).

NOTE 16. Gentile rightly points out that this reference to the *Summa theologica* is inexact: 2.2.140 speaks of the virtue of strength; but even Gentile's reference needs to be corrected, not—as he doubtfully proposed—to 2.2.95.4 (which discusses the lawfulness of demonic evocations), but to 2.2.172.5–6 (where Aquinas treats the possibilities and truthfulness of diabolic prophecies) (LF, 1318).

LINES 58–63. For Campanella, salvation is not reserved for Christians alone, but Christians have no excuse for not accepting the "universal Father."

LINE 71. *Tata* is Calabrian dialect for "father," here signifying God the Father (LF, 1318).

LINE 77. According to Firpo (1318), this is a purposeful and prudent self-censorship, so as not to provoke the ire of German reformers, who would help to see this *Selection of Philosophical Poetry* to print.

LINE 79. *Cinghi* is Temugin, or Genghis Khan, founder of the Mongolian Empire and ruler of the Tartars in the thirteenth century; in his *Quod Reminiscentur* (2.8), Campanella recalls that this sovereign made others believe that he was son of the Sun (LF, 1318).

LINE 80. According to Firpo (1318), Campanella confuses the ancient Japanese cult of Amida with that of Kami and Fotoques, indigenous deities who distribute material goods and otherworldly riches, respectively. According to Ernst (159), Campa-

nella got his information on the eastern religions and cults from missionary accounts. See *Historia rerum a S. J. in Oriente gestarum* by Acosta, the *Historiae Indicae* by G. B. Maffei, and the *Relazioni universali* by Botero.

NOTE 23. By “arte” (art or artifice), Campanella intends something akin to Dante’s notion of human art as a child of Nature, which is itself a child of God, so that “arte a Dio quasi è nepote” (human art is like a grandchild of God, *Inferno* 11.105). Thus the situation is very unnatural or unreliable when art is placed before Nature.

LINE 97. “The seven seals” refers to the book of the future in Apocalypse 5–8. Campanella interprets them as the seven ages of the world (LB, 107).

NOTE 30. This is the orthodox interpretation applied in 1613, but the verses, written ten years earlier, perhaps had a Pythagorean meaning (with Brunian echoes?) alluding to metempsychosis (LF, 1318).

LINE 107. *spiriti sciolti*: loosed spirits are angels (GE, 160).

NOTE 31. On the Christian apologist from Athens, Athenagoras, see *De resurrectione mortuorum* 18 (LF, 1318).

4. Del mondo e sue parti

Sonnet with Italian rhyme scheme ABBA ABBA CDC DCD.

Firpo states (1318) that this poem is “of uncertain date, perhaps contemporaneous with #3.” The force of this sonnet derives from a macrocosm/microcosm analogy that compares the relationship of God and man to that between man and parasitic worms, calling on readers to understand the lowly place they have with respect to God and to learn humility.

LINES 1–2. For Campanella, the world is a creation or created thing, like an animal, which is an animated (living) thing, in which is infused His *anima* (soul/spirit). All of these terms (*animale, animo, anima*), etymologically related, inform Campanella’s understanding of God’s place in His creation. The world is a work of art, like a statue made in His image, in which is reflected His goodness and beauty.

LINE 4. *ricetto*: place of sanctuary, safety, home (GE, 161).

LINES 4–5. The sense of these verses is: “if we ignore that the world has sense and love, we are like the worm that . . .” (LB, 109).

LINE 6. *s’assottiglia*: endeavors, commits itself to. See Dante’s *Paradise* 19.82 and 28.63 (LB, 109).

LINE 8. *rispetto*: caution (GE, 161).

LINE 10. *al massimo*: to the greatest animal, that is, the world (LB, 109).

5. Anima immortale

Sonnet with Italian rhyme scheme ABBA ABBA CDC DCD.

Firpo states that this poem is “of uncertain date, perhaps contemporaneous with #3” (1319). Campanella transitions from the highly materialistic image of parasitic feeding in poem 4 to the immaterial hunger of the human soul, “image of the immense Father” (v. 9), feasting on the vast world(s) of knowledge in this sonnet. The terms

that Campanella chooses to rhyme are sometimes ordered according to necessity (as Firpo supposes “Metrodorus” is used at the end of line 5; see the note regarding line 5 below), but are oftentimes actually quite felicitous, as in the last two tercets: *immenso*, *senso*, and *penso*; and *cinge*, *attinge*, and *incinge*. Campanella’s thought (*penso*) is directly associated through its rhyme with the “immense” Father, through loving “sense.” Inevitably lost in any translation, I suppose, is the shift from *cinge* (girds) to *incinge*. This last term is literally composed of “in” and “girds,” first used by Dante with the meaning of *s’impregna* (becomes pregnant with Him, in the sense, if I understand correctly, of one who bears patiently, perhaps even through discomfort at times, God’s grace growing within him or her, awaiting hopefully the term when that seed will be fully matured, and one will be born in the second life as a soul in heaven, returning back to God the Progenitor). Campanella does not shy away from the erotic nature of the act that brings about the pregnancy in his references to *lieto conoscitor* (happy . . . knower) and *penetrante e penetrato* (penetrating and penetrated by) in his self-commentary. In other words, Campanella composes a lovely lyrical reflection between God who girds all the creatures and the created Campanella who thinks that one is only certain and happy who becomes Him and is “ingirded” by Him.

The immortal soul of the sonnet’s title speaks in the first person.

LINE 1. *Pugno* (from the Latin *pugillus*): a fist—used figuratively to indicate a very small size. Campanella compares the relatively small, fist-sized brain, in which his soul dwells, to the whole world’s capacity for books. However, I believe Campanella’s image of the brain as a fist deserves more attention. The fist is the human body’s tool for grasping, fighting, and indicating triumph, among other actions. That his soul inhabits this tool for *comprehensio* (grasping with the mind, understanding), intellectual combat, and triumph, is remarkably appropriate to Campanella’s unique version of the engaged and militant ideal life of the thinking person.

LINE 5. Aristarchus of Samos was a peripatetic philosopher and astronomer who lived at the end of the fourth century and the beginning of the third century BCE. Aristarchus is one of the first astronomers credited with elaborating a heliocentric universe. Firpo notes (1319) that Campanella drafted a work in Naples around 1599 titled *De sphere Aristarchi* (since lost) on Aristarchus’s astronomical hypotheses. According to Firpo (1319), by *Metrodorus*, Campanella could be alluding to Metrodorus of Lampsacus (331–278 BCE), disciple of Epicurus, perhaps introducing him “purely for the necessity of rhyme to represent non-Aristotelian philosophy,” though he may have intrigued Campanella also for his theories on multiple worlds; or to Metrodorus of Scepsis, disciple of Carneades, celebrated for his iron-clad memory. Firpo assumes, according to certain accepted scholarly opinions, that Metrodorus of Scepsis is the same Metrodorus of Stratonicea (see *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*’s entries for Metrodorus, definitions 3 and 4).

LINES 12–14. Full knowledge of God, according to Campanella, is available through direct contact (*per tactum intrinsecum*, according to the Proem of his *Metaphysics*), not by means of syllogism, which is like an arrow that strikes the target from afar, or authority, which amounts to touching with another’s hand (GE, 162). The terms *s’illuia* and *incinge* are used by Dante in *Paradise* 9.73 and *Inferno* 8.45, respectively (LF, 1319).

6. Modo di filosofare

Sonnet with Italian rhyme scheme ABBA ABBA CDE CDE.

Firpo states that this poem is “of uncertain date, perhaps contemporaneous with #3” (1319). The title mentioned in Campanella’s self-commentary, *Contra Macchiavellisti*, refers to the work, translated into Latin, which was published in 1631 in Rome and in 1636 in Paris under the title *Atheismus triumphatus* (LF, 1319).

LINE 3. *i gesti e l’proprio esempio*: the exploits (from *gesta*) and His own idea (LB, 111).

LINE 9. *tempii morti*: Dead temples are human works, copied from divine, living ones (LB, 111).

LINES 9–11. This tercet echoes the Dantean understanding behind note 23 to poem 3. The more removed our human understanding of God becomes, studying “truth” from erroneous human books, for example, the more fallacious our understanding becomes, hence Campanella’s plea in line 14 to return to the original, the world.

7. Accorgimento a tutte nazioni

Sonnet with Italian rhyme scheme ABBA ABBA CDC DCD.

Firpo states that this poem is “of uncertain date, perhaps contemporaneous with #3” (1319). In his self-commentary, Campanella refers to his *Metaphysics*, a treatise in eighteen books, re-elaborated five times and published in Paris in 1638 (LF, 1319).

LINES 4 AND 8. *imo* and *sublimo*: The rhyme is particularly efficacious in the Italian, since Campanella is able to contrast the words for “cast down” and “uphold.”

LINE 6. *spanto*: “from the Calabrian ‘spantu,’ meaning ‘sbalordimento, stupore’ (surprise, wonder or shock); but in his *Letters*, Campanella uses ‘spantosi’ to mean ‘van-tatori, millantatori’ (boasters, braggarts); I would interpret ‘ostentatious holiness,’ ‘a paraded false piety.’” (LF, 1319).

LINE 11. *eterea face*: celestial light (LB, 112).

LINE 14. *il gusto*: the capacity and the pleasure of perceiving the Intellect inside of us (LB, 112).

8. Delle radici de’ gran mali del mondo

Sonnet with Italian rhyme scheme ABBA ABBA CDC DCD.

Firpo states that this poem is “of uncertain date, perhaps contemporaneous with #3” (1319). Campanella writes of the three primalities in *Metaphysics* 2.6.5ff. (LB, 113). For his reference in the self-commentary to Ovid, cf. *Metamorphosis* 1.321 (LB, 113). On his reference to Solomon, see the Book of Wisdom 6:26.

LINES 1–2. In poem 1 Campanella presents his poetic genealogy; in 3 he announces his creed. Here he moves to his purpose, the fundamental motivation for his life: to vanquish the negative correspondences (“tyranny, sophism, and hypocrisy”) of his three propinquities. Incidentally, these two lines are inscribed in the marble base of the statue of Campanella unveiled by philosopher Giovanni Gentile in 1923 in Piazza L. Carnevale in Stilo, Calabria.

LINE 4. *Temì*: Themis, primordial goddess associated with prophecy (the Delphic oracle in Aeschylus), order, and justice.

9. Contra il proprio amore scoprimento stupendo

Sonnet with Italian rhyme scheme ABBA ABBA CDC DCD.

Firpo states that this poem is “of uncertain date, perhaps contemporaneous with #3” (1319). In his self-commentary, Campanella alludes to passages in his *De sensu rerum* (3.4) and *Metaphysics* 11.9.2 and 4. God’s words to Moses appear in Deuteronomy 4:19.

LINE 7. *di nostre celle*: our monastery cells. The preceding lines present a progressively restrictive view of salvation, according to self-righteous self-lovers who believe that God’s love is meant only for believers of their faith, only for those of their country, and finally only for monks or clerics (“those of our own cells”).

LINE 9. Campanella characterizes the self-lovers as eager to avoid the effort necessary to work their way out of their state of ignorance and to learn the truth about God’s true love and plan of salvation, calling for unity and harmony, not the division that self-lovers (mere parts of the whole) wish to maintain.

LINE 14. *autor dell’universo*: “Author of the universe” is a title belonging only to God, according to Campanella, since God alone has the authority, backed by Power, Intellect, and Love, that is the “universe,” literally, all turned as one. The self-lover is then a poor perversion of God’s “authorship,” since the self-lover fictitiously creates a meager, false, self-absorbed world, which constitutes a kind of plagiarism or theft of a part of the universe, which is turned away from the whole, revolving around only itself.

10. Parallelo del proprio e commune amore

Sonnet with Italian rhyme scheme ABBA ABBA CDC DCD.

Firpo states that this poem is “of uncertain date, perhaps contemporaneous with #3” (1320). Campanella continues in this sonnet his line of reasoning concerning the negative impact of self-love from poem 9, underscoring again in his self-commentary here that self-love makes one shun effort or toil. But here he offers us two examples of people who avoid self-love: St. Francis (who in the *Little Flowers of St. Francis* and other Franciscan legends has such a serene and harmonious relationship with the other creatures of nature that they are said to obey him out of fraternal love) and St. Biagio (who, according to Jacopo da Voragine’s *Golden Legend* 38, was similarly so loving to nature’s creatures that birds and a wolf obeyed him).

LINE 1–4. The laziness of self-love eventually leads to a state of incapacity, according to Campanella. Then the human drive for self-preservation leads one to feign being “wise, good, and valorous,” finally turning the person into a sphinx, in Campanella’s eyes, a lowly, beastly representation that is dead, but nonetheless adored, not a true, living, authentic reflection of God in human form.

LINE 8. Campanella contrasts *pene aperte* (open/obvious/revealed pains) to the *pene . . . covert* (hidden pains, pains that are kept secret) in line 5.

LINES 12–13. St. Francis penned the “Cantico delle creature,” the poem “Cantic of the Creatures,” sometimes referred to as the “Cantic to Brother Sun,” in which he

sings the praises of Brother Sun, Sister Moon, and other facets of creation, including Sister Death, as his beloved siblings.

LINE 14. *schifi*: hostile (GE, 168).

11. Cagione, perché meno si ama Dio, Sommo Bene, che gli altri bene, è l'ignoranza

Sonnet with Italian rhyme scheme ABBA ABBA CDC DCD.

Firpo states that this poem is “of uncertain date, perhaps contemporaneous with #3” (1320). Campanella alludes in his self-commentary to Plato’s *Symposium* 205d and 205ff. (LB, 118) and to Job 10:10, which “accords well with Campanella’s imaginary embryology” (LF, 1320). In order to understand the reference to Job, “one must insert one logical step: the seed that ‘God love’ (that is, the universal law of conservation that through love pushes man to preserve himself through his children) milks from man coagulates the substance from which will be born a new being” (LB, 119). The notion of sexual attraction as a wise ruse of nature is a frequently repeated one in Campanella’s writings (GE, 169).

LINE 4. By *ninfa*, “nymph” or “beloved,” Campanella intends any desirable young woman; “her lord” is Eros.

LINES 5–6. Religious people, who usurp divine things, preaching them without having any right or understanding of them, pass off their poor and insolent ignorance as virtue (LB, 119).

LINE 8. *bassa l’ale*: The wings of love should carry human souls to their rightful place (in heaven), just as moths are naturally drawn to a light source, according to the ancient analogy of Psyche the butterfly/soul, elaborated before Campanella by Plato and Dante, among others. Here Campanella asserts that the soul is enslaved when its wings are lowered to pursue mere earthly loves.

LINE 11. See *Paradise* 13.24 (LB, 119).

12. Fortuna de’ savi

Sonnet with Italian rhyme scheme ABBA ABBA CDC DCD.

Firpo states that this poem is “of uncertain date, perhaps contemporaneous with #3” (1320).

LINES 3–4. These are particularly difficult verses to interpret, according to Bolzoni. She proposes Amerio’s solution: “wise men come forth to illustrate (which alone renders them worthy of admiration) the progeny and the society from which they come” (LB, *Opere letterarie di Tommaso Campanella*, 120).

LINES 5–11. To one who is not wise, it may seem that wise men suffer much in this life. But actually, according to Campanella, the troubles they receive only increase their ultimate glory, for even if they are killed, they gain renown almost as saints or gods. In fact, wise men experience both joys and troubles, as the lover does for his beloved.

LINE 10. Campanella uses *ninfa*, “nymph” or “beloved,” here, as he does in 11.4, to signify any beautiful young woman.

13. Senno senza forza de' savi delle genti antiche
esser soggetto alla forza de' pazzi

Sonnet with Italian rhyme scheme ABBA ABBA CDC DCD.

Firpo states that this sonnet “for its praise of his feigned madness and for its still fresh remorse for the failed [Calabrian uprising attempt] one would say it belongs to the second half of 1601” (1320). The “marvelous parable” of the self-commentary probably refers to “an epistle to the readers that A. F. Doni wrote as a premise to his *Mondo savio e pazzo* (Wise and Mad World) (Venice 1552), where, however, the brief account aims only at the paradox, sustaining a relativistic perspective, linked to the point of view of the majority on the concept of wisdom and madness. The mention [of Doni here] proves that Campanella knew the extreme communistic theories enunciated by Doni precisely in the *Mondo savio*, which should then be read alongside other sources of the *City of the Sun*” (1320). Bolzoni notes, however, that the fable is also found in one of the jests of Piovano Arlotto, published for the first time in Florence in 1515.

LINE 4. *genti offese*: the afflicted people are those who come under the influence of the malefic effects of the stars.

14. Gli uomini son giuoco di Dio e degli angeli

Sonnet with Italian rhyme scheme ABBA ABBA CDC DCD.

Firpo states that this poem is “of uncertain date, perhaps contemporaneous with #3” (1320). Firpo notes that the title and subject of this sonnet might echo M. A. Epicuro’s *Cecaria o Dialogo di tre ciechi*, which Giordano Bruno had also imitated in his *Heroic Frenzies* (1320). In this sonnet, Campanella addresses the “theater of the world” topos of his time, saying along with Jacques in William Shakespeare’s *As You Like It*: “All the world’s a stage, / And all the men and women merely players; / They have their exits and their entrances, / And one man in his time plays many parts.” *Giuoco* in the title signifies “game” in the sense of “entertainment” or “pleasurable diversion.”

LINES 3–4. *supremo consistoro*: The supreme consistory is the assembly of the highest beings, God and His angels (GE, 173).

LINE 5. *tutte*: “All” refers back to the souls (line 2) of human beings, as it does in line 11.

LINES 8 AND 10. *Comico* and *Senno* refer to Campanella’s figure of God.

17. Non è re chi ha regno, ma chi sa reggere

Sonnet with Italian rhyme scheme ABBA ABBA CDC DCD.

Firpo states that this poem is “of uncertain date, perhaps contemporaneous with #3” (1321). Campanella also wrote on the subject of animals that live in a republic in his *On the Sense of Things* (2.23), and the *Defeat of Atheism* (3.1.23–24) (LF, 1321).

LINE 5. *cocolle*: the garment that monks wear over their tunics. See also Dante’s *Paradise* 22.77 (LB, 125).

LINE 6. *parte*: political party or faction (LB, 125).

LINE 8. *bastaso*: term in southern Italian dialect that denotes one who carries burdens, such as a mover or porter (LF, 1321).

LINE 12. *espogno*: I demonstrate, prove, show (LB, 125).

LINE 14. The true king must be proven by the shining example of his virtue (the sun), not by costumes or other insignia (feathers) or by unproven sayings, superstitions, or the like (including dreams). However, Giancotti prefers the interpretation that the true king is not proven because he rests (on feather beds) and dreams of the virtuous works he might do, citing Dante's *Inferno* 24.48.

18. A Cristo, Nostro Signore

Sonnet with Italian rhyme scheme ABBA ABBA CDE DCE.

This sonnet, according to Firpo, appears to be from the second half of 1601, since it includes the fresh comparison between Campanella's torture and Christ's suffering (LF, 1321). Campanella sees the greatest threat to true Christianity as coming not from those outside the faith, such as Turks or Jews, but from those who claim to be Christians, yet do not follow the teachings of Christ. In other words, Campanella's message echoes Jesus's denunciations of the Pharisees and other hypocrites of His time.

LINE 3. *del tutto erranti*: greatly erring, being very far from the straight path (LB, 126).

LINE 11. *segno*: the sign or proof of a prophecy's truth (LB, 126). Campanella alludes to his "passion": the torture of the wake, which he endured June 4–5, 1601 (LF, 1321).

LINE 12. *armato vien'*, *Signore*: Campanella alludes to the Machiavellian theme here of the prophet who is unarmed (LB, 126). Campanella suggests that God should return armed at the final coming because His own people are preparing new crosses for Him.

21. Nel seplacro di Cristo

Sonnet with Italian rhyme scheme ABBA ABBA CDC DCD.

According to Firpo, this sonnet (like 19 and 20) was written on Easter 1601 (1321). This sonnet echoes the first part of the creed on Christ's taking human form so humanity could transcend death, His death and resurrection, and His ascendance into Heaven. Campanella's emphasis, however, rests on the amazement or wonder of Christ's sacrifice (*stupirti in infinito*, 1), that is, in its enthusiasm that appears more emotional than the creed's recitation of faith ("I believe in God . . ."). This emotional enthusiasm is reinforced in line 8: *chi s'è con lui per vivo affetto unito* ([he] who is united to Him by living affection). For Campanella, following Christ is not about masking under the appearance of devotion the evil that sophists, hypocrites, and tyrants do to others, but rather uniting oneself to Christ with "living affection," even if this *caldo di ragion* (here translated as "heat of reason," though it should be understood as a kind of rightful burning affection) is the cause of one's earthly death, or in other words, one's Christ-like martyrdom and triumph.

LINE 9. *pe'l caldo di ragione*: “heat of reason,” intended very positively as a rightful, active, living reason, perhaps akin to righteous anger. It is an expression that Campanella uses frequently. See, for example, the Italian *Poetica* (pp. 379, 381, 403) (LB, 129).

LINE 11. They mask under the appearance of devotion the evil that they do to others (LB, 129).

LINE 12. The verse alludes to Wisdom 2:16 (LF, 1321) or 4:16 (LB, 129).

23. Al Primo Senno, Canzone Prima

Canzone consisting of five madrigals, composed of hendecasyllables and septenaries in the Italian rhyme scheme ABCCBAdefEDfD, and so on.

According to Firpo, this canzone was probably written around the end of 1603, but certainly before 1607 (1322).

MADRIGAL 1

Campanella’s self-commentary refers to his *Metaphysics* (2.6.3 and 2.6.11) (LB, 131). In language similar to that used to describe the Trinity, Campanella says that the three principles are found in each other, though they also proceed one from another.

LINE 1. *Illustra*: “Elucidate,” that is, illuminate by means of knowledge. Campanella emphasizes from the first word of this song metaphors that combine light and knowledge.

LINES 3–5. Love (line 3) and Valor (line 4) come from *voglia* (will or desire) and *possa* (power), (line 5) respectively. This kind of use of anastrophe is not infrequent in Campanella’s *Scelta*; we just saw another example in the note to poem 17.

LINE 13. God, the Prime Intellect, is judge and author of truth.

MADRIGAL 2

LINES 1–2. Campanella rewords the *incipit* of the Gospel according to John.

MADRIGAL 3

According to Campanella’s self-commentary, nature is the infusion of divine art in things, a kind of actual manifestation of intellectual divine artistry; nature is thus the daughter of Intellect. Human art is extrinsic in nature and makes artificial things; it is the granddaughter of the Prime Intellect. Campanella has already expounded this point in poem 3, note 23, and will reiterate it elsewhere, including poem 83, line 2. References to Aristotle can be found in the *De anima* 2.12.424a and to Telesio in the *De rerum natura* 5.9 (LB, 133).

LINE 3. *l’arte nostra è nipote*: Campanella borrows the image of human art as granddaughter of God in *Inferno* 11.103–05 (LF, 1322). See also poem 3, note 23.

LINE 13. Knowledge is change in human beings.

MADRIGAL 4

Campanella explains that understanding or experience is a kind of little change (a complete change would be death). His reference to *Metaphysics* can be found in 1.1.4.1.

LINE 1. *ma non del tutto*: It does not consist in changing oneself totally (LB, 134).

LINES 3–5. From just a little change, one can immediately understand (making the adjustments for proportion) existence and the rest of the characteristics of an object, and this is done by multiplying sensation, a little or much (LB, 134).

LINE 6. Thus conscience is born from a reasoning linked to suffering, to immediate change (LB, 134).

LINE 13. *e Dio*: And this is valid so much more so for God (LB, 134).

LINE 14. Inventors do not learn how to make their works from other people. In this way, God was the first inventor or engineer. God teaches, but does not learn.

MADRIGAL 5

Campanella's self-commentary to the final madrigal of this song ends on the same light/knowledge metaphor with which the first verse of Madrigal 1 began, but this time Campanella inverts the image. The less light that entities receive from God, the First Being, the more deceitful, ignorant, and destructive the being is that they have. *Quis intelliget?* is one of various self-commentative expressions that Campanella uses—this one is a rhetorical question in Latin directly posed to the reader (but other versions are declarative in Latin, as in the note to poem 59, or declarative in Italian, as in the note to poem 60), typically suggesting the clarity of Campanella's thought, at least to those who read well, a ploy similar to ones used by Dante in the *Vita Nuova*, for instance. See the chapter on Dante in Roush, *Hermes' Lyre*. But given the context of this particular note, the returning of knowledge to the Prime Intellect, from which it derives, the Latin question is also an invitation to understand one's own understanding as an extension of God's Intellect, and thus the rhetorical question can also be understood as an invitation to an intellectualized meditation on God, through God, to God.

LINE 2. *fiere*: Campanella intends here flying “beasts,” such as birds.

LINE 5. *la mole*: the material (LB, 135).

LINE 11. *manto*: the exterior appearance (LB, 135).

LINE 12. *si reduce*: returns (LB, 135).

24. Canzone Seconda

Canzone consisting of five madrigals, composed of hendecasyllables and septenaries in the Italian rhyme scheme ABCCBAdefEDfD, and so on.

According to Firpo, this song was written at the same time as poem 23.

MADRIGAL 1

Campanella, in his self-commentary, links the light/intellect metaphor from the previous song to Solomon (Wisdom 6:13) and St. Paul (Ephesians 5:13). His anti-Aristotelian writing is a reference to *Metaphysics* 1.2.5.2, and his reference to *On the Sense of Things* is to 3.5 (LB, 136).

LINES 1–6. God is light, “one, simple, and sincere,” that is, the sun, which is manifested *per se*, from Itself, by Itself, through Itself. It tends by Its nature to diffuse and multiply Itself (LB, 136). God the Sun can see all and makes everything possible to see in Its sphere.

LINE 7–13. Entities with material bodies absorb this Light, not being able to gen-

erate or diffuse It by themselves. Colors appear, according to how the dark shadows hide this Light. And without the First Light, the bodies cannot be seen at all.

MADRIGAL 2

Campanella notes in his self-commentary here that shared God is not called God, but Intellect. In other words, when human beings participate in God's being, we do not become God, but we share in His preeminent quality, Intellect. Thus, we might say that we are most like God through what we know.

LINE 5. Cf. 23n2. "Angels, according to Campanella in *Theology* 5.4.1, have more excellent terms for divine things than the human language does, and in a revelation of St. Catherine cited various times by him, every human word for divine things will be called blasphemous" (Amerio, cited by LB, 137).

LINE 11. *la scorza*: the surface that surrounds it (LB, 137), that is, the body (GE, 187).

MADRIGAL 3

In his self-commentary, Campanella introduces a new term, *infarsi*, roughly equivalent to "inmakes oneself" in English. There is a play on words, though: the passive non-reflexive form *è infatto* can be "is inmade," but also signifies "is in fact."

LINE 2. *s'iface*: becomes all the entities, interpenetrates Itself in them (LB, 138).

LINES 4–6. and it is capable of judging on the basis of that which it understands directly, even the rest (the similar, different, that of which it has no direct understanding).

LINES 11–12. Lying almost by nature, not out of shrewdness, denotes an intellect of corrupt and sinful nature (LB, 138).

MADRIGAL 4

Campanella reiterates a point from the self-commentary of this song's second madrigal—that human beings can know things, similar to God, but this capacity does not make us God. God knows any book before He reads it because He is it, and makes things without effort because He is them. Cf. *Metaphysics* 2.6.11.1 (LB, 139).

LINE 4. *di tanta stima*: of such greatness (LB, 139).

LINE 5. God makes living things by means of His understanding them alone.

LINE 6. *i passi*: the quantity (GE, 188).

LINE 11. *le riforme*: the coming and going of forms (LB, 139).

LINE 12. *rispetti*: the relationships between things (LB, 139).

MADRIGAL 5

The first reference in the self-commentary to *Metaphysics* is to 1.1.1.2, and the second reference is to 1.1.8.1 (LB, 140).

LINE 6. *divari*: differences, changes (LB, 140).

LINES 9–11. And even if it were able to internalize itself completely, its understanding would still be based on its measure, not on the measure of Being itself.

25. Canzone Terza

Canzone consisting of five madrigals, composed of hendecasyllables and septenaries in the Italian rhyme scheme ABCCBAdefEDfD, and so on. In the first madrigal, the rhyme of lines 9 and 12 is imperfect: erbe/serbi.

According to Firpo, this song was written at the same time as 23 and 24 (1322).

MADRIGAL 1

This first madrigal expresses the seeming senselessness of human death by associating human death with the “death,” or consumption (Campanella would say the transmutation) of the plants, seeds, and fruit that we eat. He uses the image of Fate as a figure that must be seized by the forelock as soon as it appears, since if it turns away, it will reveal a bald back of the head, leaving nothing to grasp. The Latin motto of the self-commentary is from *Disticha Catonis* 2.26 (LF, 1322).

LINES 4–5. *per quanto Dio ha ordinate pel Fato*: in as much as God arranged by utilizing Fate (LB, 141).

LINES 6–7. So some of us die in the flower of our youth, whereas others are taken after we have produced fruit. *Materno alvo*: maternal womb (GE, 190).

LINES 11–13. So it seems to us, since sometimes the head of Fate, which preserves the world, shows itself full of hair (in such a way that one can seize it), other times bald. Thus it seems not to react correctly, according to reason (LB, 141).

MADRIGAL 2

Here Campanella introduces the image of the world as a “cage of fools” (“Gabbia de’ matti,” 11), since it holds beings that in their ignorance fight to stay alive instead of accepting death as a change to a better state of existence. Firpo notes (1322), citing Gentile, that memory betrays Campanella in his self-commentary to this madrigal. Erasmus in *Adage* 3.4.2 states, “suus cuique crepitus bene olet” as a popular saying in the fifteenth century. The attribution of the saying to Plautus derives perhaps from an echo of *Curculio*, v. 295.

LINE 4. Each being struggles against death without understanding that it would be a simple change, not the end (of life) (LB, 142).

LINES 7–13. Campanella’s use of rhyme is often quite thoughtful, as it is here. He rhymes *Sapienza* (Wisdom), *senza* (without), and *eccellenza* (excellence), while the approximate rhymes of *ignoranza* (ignorance) and *avanza* (advances) serve as poetic counterpoint, suggesting that the “stupendous thing” (1) that is the excellence of highest Wisdom is withholding Itself just enough that ignorance advances the universe, allowing beings to exist happily in their proper niche, since full understanding would lead to unsustainable attempts at transmutation by lower life-forms.

MADRIGAL 3

The subject of this madrigal is, the more one learns, the more one learns how little one knows. Campanella cites his *Metaphysics* (1.1.1.2, LB, 143) and I Corinthians 8:2 from memory in the self-commentary (LF, 1322).

LINE 4. *tutte nazioni*: all genera or species (LB, 143).

LINES 12–13. Consider, who wishes to know, without hypocrisy, that one does not know anything (LB, 143).

MADRIGAL 4

Campanella cites his *Metaphysics* (2.6.9.5) in the self-commentary (LB, 144). Campanella uses the term *travasato* in the final sentence of the self-commentary to convey an image rich in meaning. It is translated as “it is a divine gift *granted* to them.” But the Italian suggests etymologically *tra-vaso*, “from one vessel to another,” and prompts an image of God’s cup of divine gifts spilling over into the souls of human beings.

LINES 2–3. One who is not born pure cannot become pure (LB, 144).

LINES 12–13. Nor can it (intellect or strength) be passed through heredity, if wise men or heroes produce children (LB, 144).

MADRIGAL 5

The image of this madrigal is the harmony of the spheres, the neoplatonic idea of the varying pitches that heavenly bodies resonate, generally only audible to the blessed in heaven (GE, 193). Campanella cites his *City of the Sun* (the same passage cited in poem 2) and the verses of Esiodus in Aristotle’s *Nicomachean Ethics* 1.4.1095 (LF, 1322) in the self-commentary. The sentence that reads, *E ch’egli è ottimo e purissimo, chi per sé tutto sa, e quel che non si sa intende* (One is excellent and very pure who knows all through himself and what he does not know he intuits) poses problems for the term *intende* (he intuits). *In-tende*, that is, one who tends inward, thus tends away from the surface, or body (*scorza*, “covering”) and toward the “immortal soul” or “pure spirit” that makes men divine. Intuiting is thus an act of acquiring knowledge by tending inward toward the spirit shared with God, in a similar way that understanding is an act of acquiring knowledge through the harmonization of one’s existential place from (or under) God.

LINES 1–2. Thus purity of spirit is born from harmony with the world and with every element (LB, 145).

LINES 5–6. Human beings can cooperate in generation, by putting themselves in tune with the universal harmony in the time and place; and God, pleased with the human effort to know nature and the heavens, inspires and sends His grace to them (LB, 145).

LINE 9. That God enjoys through the efforts of such a man (LB, 145).

26. Introduzione ad Amore, vero Amore

Sonnet with Italian rhyme scheme: ABBA ABBA CDC DCD.

According to Firpo, this poem was written at the same time as poems 23–25 (1322). The account of Joshua halting the sun is recorded in the tenth chapter of the Book of Joshua.

LINES 3–4. So the true lover considers every great enterprise and every suffering to be a trifle (LB, 146). The soul of the true lover doubles when joined to that of the beloved. This stanza articulates the ideals of love, as inspired by Plato and developed by poets of the Sicilian School, particularly Giacomo da Lentini. The soul of the true

lover beholds the image of the beloved and, in contemplation, imagines the beloved as even more beautiful. From this contemplation, the lover gains the strength and courage to undertake even the most daring or painful ordeals for this love.

LINE 5. *amor donnesco*: womanly love, that is, love of a mortal woman.

LINES 7–8. The Eternal Highness, united by love with the soul that is sealed within the body's covering (LB, 146).

LINE 9. *spera: sfera*, “sphere,” in imitation of Dante's use of the same term various times, especially in *Paradise*, referring to the spheres of heaven. Other uses of the term in Campanella's verse appear in 28.1.5 and 28.2.13 (not included in this volume) (FG, 110).

LINE 12. *zebbe*: Perhaps not necessarily zebras, but goats, sheep, or another passive animal that is vulnerable to a wolf's attack (cf. *Inferno* 32.15) (LB, 146). Ernst favors “sheep” (194).

LINE 13. True Love, or God, is “sincere light.” Campanella reiterates the association of God/light, expressed in various ways in poems 7, 23, 24, and others. Here God/light is what permits the appreciation of beauty in the beloved.

LINE 14. *sublimare*: sublimate. *Sub-limare* suggests “honing down,”—that is, by grinding us down like a knife sharpener does a blade, God raises us up to such heights.

27. Contra Cupido

Sonnet with Italian rhyme scheme ABBA ABBA CDE CDE.

According to Firpo, this poem was written at the same time as poems 23–26 (1323). Firpo writes, “the *Prophetic Articles* were drafted by Campanella in prison during the first part of 1600 (with the title *Prima delineatio defensionum*) and were later reworked and greatly extended around 1606–7; that definitive redaction is still unedited” (1323). Campanella invites his readers to note the subtleties of this sonnet, since he is only concerned with noting “hidden and new” meanings. See poems 20 and 21 for other self-commentative refusals to expound on the verses' meaning.

LINE 1. *cole*: venerates (LB, 147).

LINE 5. The dark color is for Campanella a symbol of the decadence of his age (see also 54 and 55) (LB, 147).

LINES 8–9. Campanella expresses a distress similar to that articulated by Ludovico Ariosto and other writers of the sixteenth century over the advent of the *archibugio* (arquebus, a kind of primitive cannon) and other weapons that use gunpowder. According to Ernst, G. Ruscelli, in his *Imprese illustri*, showed a “modern Cupid” armed, not with arrows, but with a cannon (195).

LINE 11. *squilla mia*: Firpo notes (lx) that Campanella “knows that he is by now the ‘*campanella squillante*’ (the ‘peeling bell,’ [note the play on his name]) destined to rouse those who sleep [are ignorant or are lulled by sin]; he makes his own the motto on the devotion of the hoped-for celestial City, the promise of the prophet Isaiah: ‘*Propter Sion, non tacebo*.’” I analyze Campanella's pseudonym and the plays on his name at greater length in *Hermes' Lyre*, chapter 6.

LINE 12. *bestia impiagata*: An image derived from the Apocalypse (LB, 147).

31. Del Sommo Bene Metafisico

Canzone consisting of nine madrigals, composed of hendecasyllables and septenaries in the Italian rhyme scheme ABCBACDCEeDDFGFG, and so on, for the first eight madrigals. The final madrigal has eleven verses, instead of seventeen, with the rhyme scheme ABCDdBCeEBE.

According to Firpo (1325), this canzone was written at approximately the same time as poems 23–30, that is, probably around the end of 1603, but certainly before 1607.

MADRIGAL 1

LINE 2. *pave*: fears (LB, 183).

LINES 6–7. Nothingness cannot stay inside of Him or mix with Him (LB, 183).

LINES 13–14. From Which every thing is very far because it is finite, while Being which surrounds it is infinite (LB, 183).

MADRIGAL 2

LINE 5. *impetra*: asks, obtains (LB, 184).

LINE 8. In the same way that compounds obtain their existence from Him and in whom they, bit by bit, share in the divine idea (LB, 184).

MADRIGAL 3

Reference to the *Metaphysics* is to 2.6 in the longer edition that Campanella wrote subsequently, according to Firpo (1325).

LINE 4. *gli aggreva*: that which is annoying to him (LB, 185).

LINE 8. *pel dimenticare*: in order that we forget our past condition (LB, 185).

LINE 12. *ch'un sia due*: that one becomes also that which it is not (LB, 185).

LINE 14. *l'immagine*: an image of oneself (LB, 185).

LINE 17. *franco*: free (LB, 185).

MADRIGAL 4

The doubts that Campanella raises in his self-commentary are resolved in his *Metaphysics* (LB, 186).

LINE 1. The subject of the verb is God (LB, 186).

MADRIGAL 5

LINE 2. *confine*: similar (LB, 187).

LINE 6. *mire*: marvelously (LB, 187).

LINE 13. How beautiful it is that His hand (the hand of God) distinguishes chaos (LB, 187).

MADRIGAL 6

On the “Canzone del disprezzo della morte” (Song on the scorn of death), see 76.6, excluded from this edition.

LINE 1. *adri*: dark (LB, 188).

LINE 2. *dubbie*: fearful (LB, 188).

LINE 9. *buchi stretti*: the eyes (LB, 188).

LINE 13. It makes it lie down, rest, or rather, rise (LB, 188).

MADRIGAL 7

LINES 1–2. The subject of the verb is *alme*, “souls” (LB, 189).

LINE 6. *ch'è cieca, e nota*: that does not see, yet writes (LB, 189).

LINE 8. *iota*: nothing (LB, 189).

LINE 13. That in Him, thanks to Him, know (LB, 189).

MADRIGAL 8

LINES 1–3. We derive from without, from one who knocks at the walls of our body, our prison, a limited and false knowledge that penetrates us through the thin avenues of the senses (LB, 190).

LINE 5. *quinci*: departing from the observation that they do not have “walls” and “thin avenues” as we do (LB, 190).

LINE 9. *i solar fuochi*: the vital spirits that are warm and come from the sun (LB, 190).

LINE 13. Forgetting one’s old death makes one always young (LB, 190).

MADRIGAL 9

Campanella cites by memory Ecclesiastes 1:9 in his self-commentary (LF, 1325).

LINE 7. *gira: andrebbe*, “would go” (LB, 191).

LINE 11. *sacramento*: sacred mystery (LB, 191).

35. Che 'l principe tristo non è mente della repubblica sua

Sonnet with Italian rhyme scheme ABBA ABBA CDC DCD.

Firpo indicates that this sonnet is composed “not long after 1603” (1326). Reference in the self-commentary to the *Monarchy of the Messiah* is to 1.30, though this is a frequently cited notion in Campanella’s political writings, including *Political Aphorisms* 58 and the *Politics* 6.7 (LF, 1326). For a more detailed reading of this poem and issues related to its translation, please see my introduction to this volume.

LINE 1. *mentola*: the male member. Its approximation to *mente* (literally, “mind”) is a play on words, roughly analogous in English to the vulgar reference to the male penis as “the other head.”

LINE 10. *li sparge*: he spurts his blood and vigor, that is, his semen.

LINE 11. There is no compensation for death if the “little head” of state is only masturbated for his pleasure and does not assure the survival of his blood through children—that is, if he does not take care to use wisely all the members of his state for the survival of all.

36. Agl’Italiani, che attendono a poetar con le favole greche

Canzone consisting of eight madrigals, composed of hendecasyllables and septenaries in the Italian rhyme scheme ABBAaCcACDD.

In dating this song, Firpo states that it is “surely written before September 1606, probably in 1603; it represents a radical revision of an excluded sonnet, present in Ms. Ponzio (cf. n. 137), composed in the first period of Neapolitan incarceration” (1326). This song expands on themes presented in poem 2, “A’ poeti,” particularly the exhortation to poets to sing the praises of virtuous, historical examples, rather than

fictitious heroes or shameful lovers. In this song Campanella encourages Italian poets to cast off slavish imitation of Greek narratives, including those of the Golden Fleece and of pagan gods, to praise instead the figures of Christopher Columbus, Amerigo Vespucci, and other admirable Italians. In the wake of Renaissance recuperations of classical culture in Italy, Campanella challenges perhaps the most fashionable poetic trend of his time.

MADRIGAL 1

LINE 3. *l'aureo vello*: The Golden Fleece.

LINE 4. *Troia con più inganni e poca Guerra*: The most infamous deception of the Trojan War is, of course, the Trojan horse, an immense hollow wooden gift given to the besieged Trojans by the Greeks as a peace offering. After the Trojans brought the horse within its city walls, Greek soldiers emerged while the Trojans slept, killing them and conquering the city.

LINE 8. *e contra Dio quant'erra*: Greek polytheism remained a scandal of Renaissance Italian Christian imitations of classical poets.

MADRIGAL 2

LINE 2. *a Cesare ed a Cristo*: Columbus, according to Campanella, acquires the new world for both political (territorial gains on behalf of a ruling patron) and religious gains.

LINE 4. Columbus overcomes through action the theoretical problems of mathematics.

LINE 10. The use of *salma* (literally, “corpse”) to signify “mortal body” is an echo of Dante (*Paradise* 32.114) and Petrarch (*Trionfo della Pudicitia*, v. 94) (LF, 1326).

NOTE 4. Among the theologians who denied the existence of the antipodes was St. Augustine, in *De civitate Dei* 16.9. By “antipodes,” Campanella refers to the lands of the southern hemisphere, believed by some to be uninhabited.

MADRIGAL 3

LINE 3. Campanella asserts that Amerigo Vespucci honors his birth city of Florence more than “others,” that is, other Florentines, but considering the context, probably Florentine poets who imitate classical pagan poets and look for their inspiration in pagan fictions, through which efforts they receive high praise.

LINES 5–7. For Campanella, all the Italian poets have become too acquainted with Greek poetry’s “false gods” and “lying heroes,” leaving none to champion Vespucci’s glory (v. 4).

LINE 8. Tiphys of Siphos was the helmsman of the Argonauts and was said to be blind.

NOTE 7. Pliny the Elder, in his *Nat. Hist.* 29.7.14, preserves one of the few fragments of Cato’s *Ad Marcum filium*, in which he affirms about the Greeks, “quandoque ista gens suas litteras dabit, omnia conrumpet” (LF, 1326).

MADRIGAL 4

For Campanella, Italian writers bury the light of their own great lawmakers (perhaps echoing the biblical parable of hiding a lantern under a bushel basket), while they light candles for foreigners’ accomplishments.

LINE 8. *Consentin*: a reference to Telesio, from Cosenza (LF, 1327).

LINE 9. *Schiavone*: referring with disdain to Aristotle, native of Stagira in Macedonia (LF, 1327).

LINE 11. Campanella calls his native town “ungrateful” because his fellow inhabitants of Stilo were frequently hostile to him during the trials in Calabria concerning the uprising (LF, 1327).

NOTE 10. The self-commentary was written in 1613, and Campanella counts the years of his misfortunes, beginning with the first trial in Naples in 1592 (LF, 1327).

MADRIGAL 5

LINE 2. *si smaga*: The verb is etymologically related to “magician” and means something akin to “breaks the spell”; thus Campanella approximates the people “of ignorance and discord” of line 3 to a superstitious lot.

LINE 4. *la propria salute*: the health or well-being of one’s own soul.

LINE 11. *sotto ‘l falso*: under the false *impero*, or “domination” (LB, 199).

MADRIGAL 6

LINES 1–3. A list of Italian cities without poets to sing of their glorious examples.

LINES 7–9. Venice alone puts the fables of Greece behind her. Venice is characterized as the honor of virgins and brides (LB, 199 and 203).

LINE 11. The fish and winged lion are associated with Venice, the fish because Venice also lives in the sea, and the winged lion because of its identification with St. Mark the Evangelist, the city’s patron saint.

MADRIGAL 7

In the self-commentary to this madrigal, Campanella cites Plato’s *Timaeus* 22b (LF, 1327). He also cites by memory Juvenal, *Satires* 10. 174–175 (LF, 1327). He also confuses the *Antiquitates Judaicae* (Josephus) with the *Contra Apionem* 15b, by Giuseppe Flavio (LF, 1327).

LINES 1–2. Greece robs Hercules, Jove, and their accomplishments from the Assyrians and Babylonians (LB, 200).

LINE 11. *alle genti di canute chiome*: to ancient peoples (LB, 200).

MADRIGAL 8

LINES 1–2. Italy accepted those fables with greater shame than other nations because she had her own exemplars to praise, but did not.

LINE 4. On the identification of Noah with Janus, see Christopher R. Ligota’s “Annius of Viterbo and Historical Method.”

LINES 6–9. The sense is that a single, small Roman family exceeds the greatness and virtue of every imaginable singer of Greek fictions or fables.

LINE 11. *tema*: subject, argument (not fear) (GE, 239).

37. D’Italia

Sonnet with Italian rhyme scheme ABBA ABBA CDC DCD.

Firpo dates this sonnet to “the summer of 1599, in the days of the most fervent preparations for the uprising” (see 1327 for more information on its versions in the Ponzio

manuscript). Campanella allegorizes Lucan's narrative of the woman at the Rubicon as standing for Italy, fearing the onslaught of foreign armies. The reference in the self-commentary to Dante's *Paradise* 9 is to lines 133–42 (LB, 202). In the first sentence of the self-commentary, one may also hear the refusals of Dante to clarify the poetry of his *Vita Nuova* and *Convivio*.

LINE 1–2. It is the “ingens patriae trepidantis imago” that, as Lucan narrates, appeared to Caesar at the Rubicon (*De bello civili* 1.185) (LF, 1327).

LINE 8. See Genesis 34. The verses that follow are clarified by the reference to Dante (*Paradise* 9.133–138) that the self-commentary provides (LF, 1327).

LINE 9–10. *se Gierusalemme a Nazarette / non ricorre, o ad Atene*: If Rome, the New Jerusalem, does not return to the principles of religion (Nazareth) or reason (Athens) . . .

LINE 14. On the underhanded promise that Herod makes, see Matthew 2.8 (LF, 1327).

44. De' medesimi

Sonnet with Italian rhyme scheme ABBA ABBA CDC DCD.

According to Firpo, this sonnet was probably written in 1603 (1329). Campanella alludes in his self-commentary to St. Gregory the Great's *Regula pastoralis* 2.6 and 3.35 (LF, 1329).

LINE 5. *l'Aretino*: Pietro Aretino (1492–1556) made a name for himself by seeking out scandal and controversy, writing pornographic poems and dialogues, among other exploits.

LINE 6. *che bevetter di cinici in cantina*: who drank at the cantina of the cynics (and absorbed their doctrines) (LB, 210).

LINE 13. *veste di menzogna*: “si riveste (cioè si commenta) con menzogna” (LB, 210), that is, one provides a covering (a commentary) made of lies.

46. Il “Pater Noster”

Campanella's only example of an octave in the Scelta. The rhyme scheme for its eight hendecasyllables is ABABABCC.

Firpo states that this poem is of uncertain date, perhaps composed around the end of 1603 (1329). Dante also rewrites the Our Father prayer, placing its recitation on the terrace of the Proud in Purgatory, but Dante's is an extended version of the prayer, not the slightly more condensed version that Campanella proposes here.

49. Sonetto de l'istesso

Sonnet with Italian rhyme scheme ABBA ABBA CDC DCD.

Like poems 47 and 48, Firpo believes that this poem is of uncertain date, perhaps composed around the end of 1603 (LF, 1329). Firpo also notes that this sonnet is linked with the two previous sonnets, not only by theme, but also because the rhyme scheme of the tercets of one poem is taken up in the quatrains of the one that follows (1329).

On the *Prophetic Articles* mentioned by Campanella in his self-commentary, Firpo states that “the *Prophetic Articles* were drafted by Campanella in prison during the first part of 1600 (with the title *Prima delineatio defensionum*) and were later reworked and greatly extended around 1606–7; that definitive redaction is still unedited” (1323).

LINE 4. *frutti ogni speranza*: every hope is realized, comes true (LB, 216).

LINE 6. *tutte minere*: all the other minerals (LB, 216) or metals (GE, 252).

LINE 8. *la pia possanza*: subject of the verb *darà* (LB, 216).

LINE 12. *dispetto*: a borrowing from Dante (*Inferno* 10.36) (LF, 1329).

LINE 14. *l'esito di Egitto*: Moses leading his people out of bondage in Egypt; see the beginning of Psalm 113, cited in Dante's *Purgatory* 2.46 (LB, 216).

60. Al carcere

Sonnet with Italian rhyme scheme ABBA ABBA CDC DCD.

“The prison of the title is the Roman Sant’Uffizio, and not certainly (as has been recently asserted by Di Napoli) the Castel Nuovo in Naples. It is enough to consider the fact that in it the lovers of free science (v. 5) gather together and exercise a secret tyranny (l. 14), while the Spanish oppression in the Kingdom was quite evident. The sonnet was thus written in Rome during young Campanella's detention in the cells of the Inquisition between October 1594 and May 1595, or between March and December 1597. Led in chains from Padua with fellow accused prisoners Clario and Longo, Campanella met up in Rome with Paolo Attili, Vincenzo Miliani, Giordano Bruno, Francesco Pucci, and his Nolan friend Colantonio Stigliola. The sonnet mentions the fatality of that meeting of free spirits in that tragic and mysterious place. A copy of the sonnet is preserved in Ms. Ponzio as #68 with variants” (LF, 1331).

LINE 3. *mostro*: Literally, “monster,” but in the oldest edition of the Ponzio manuscript, there appears instead *rospo* (toad); according to popular lore, the toad enchanted the weasel (*domnola*, v. 4) in order to devour it (LF, 1331). See also *On the Sense of Things* 1.8 (LF, 1331).

LINE 6. *morta gora*: stagnant waters. The expression is borrowed from Dante (*Inferno* 8.31), here referring to the conventional knowledge of the schools, the passive acquiescence to the principle of authority (LF, 1332).

LINE 10. *palazzo . . . d'Atlante*: an enchanted palace from which guests cannot leave, mentioned by Ariosto in his *Orlando furioso*, among other sources.

61. Di se stesso

Sonnet with Italian rhyme scheme ABBA ABBA CDE CDE.

This sonnet, according to Firpo, expresses Campanella's pride for having survived satisfactorily the first interrogations and at times arduous confrontations of the Neapolitan trial of January 1600 (1332). It appears as poem 4 in the Ponzio manuscript with variants (LF, 1332).

LINE 3. Campanella alludes to a Pauline theme. See 1 Corinthians 1:18 (LB, 228).

LINE 4. *alto polo*: high heaven (LB, 228).

LINE 5. *vanni*: wings (GE, 264).

LINE 7. *il grave pondo*: the weight of the body (GE, 264).

NOTE 2. See his *Metaphysics* 3.12.11.1–2, where, according to Firpo, Campanella makes ingenious conjectures about the language of angels (1332).

62. Di se stesso, quando, ecc.

Sonnet with Italian rhyme scheme ABBA ABBA CDC DCD.

Firpo dates this sonnet as subsequent to April 2, 1600 (the beginning of Campanella's simulated madness), and perhaps also after July 1601, since it does not appear in the Ponzio manuscript. However, Firpo concludes that it must have been written before August 1603, the beginning of the period of segregation that impeded Campanella from conversing with the "official friends and barons" mentioned in poem 63 (LF, 1332).

LINE 1. *scorse*: fled, left rapidly (GE, 265).

LINE 2. *Catone il giusto*: Cato the Just, or Cato of Utica, a Roman hero and character appearing in Dante's *Purgatory* 1 and 2.

LINE 9. The Maccabean saint is Eleazaro, according to Firpo and Gentile (2 Maccabees 6:18–31), but identified by Amerio as Razia (2 Maccabees 14:41–46) (LB, 229).

LINE 10. On the feigned madness of L. Giunius Brutus, see Livy, *Ab urbe condita libri* 1.56 and Cicero, *Brutus* 14. On that of Solomon, see Plutarch's *Solon* 8 (LF, 1332).

LINE 11. The king of Get is Achis, before whom David feigns madness, 1 Samuel 21:14.

LINES 12–14. The prophet Jonah (see Jonah 1:12) makes his sailing companions throw him overboard in order to save the boat from God's fury at Jonah's efforts to avoid doing God's will. Campanella, who calls himself "the Abstract" here, in an analogous situation, sacrifices himself, feigning madness, in order to save himself and the mission entrusted to him by Intellect. This interpretation of the willfully obscure and allusive passage is proposed by Amerio, according to Bolzoni (229). For a more detailed examination of Campanella's appropriation of Jonah as a model for his poetic-prophetic voice, see Roush, "Prometheus, Jonah, Christ."

NOTE 1. The "Comico" is, according to Amerio, Publilius Syrus. Bolzoni adds that the second chapter of the third book of Machiavelli's *Discorsi sopra la prima deca di Tito Livio* is titled "Come egli è cosa sapientissima similar in tempo la pazzia" (229).

NOTE 2. "Actually, Campanella did not suffer this punishment, but some of his co-conspirators did. . . . Campanella also avoided capital punishment, being condemned by the ecclesiastical court to a life sentence in prison, while the civil magistrate did not follow Campanella's case through to the end. Here the allusion is willfully sibylline, as the 'etc.' allows one to understand" (LF, 1332).

63. A certi amici ufficiali e baroni . . .

Sonnet with Italian rhyme scheme ABBA ABBA CDE CDE.

This sonnet was written at the same time as poem 62, according to Firpo (1333). For the Latin citation in the self-commentary, see Ecclesiastes 4:17 (LF, 1333) or Luke 23:34

(LB, 231); the reference to his *Metaphysics* is probably to 6.9.3 (LF, 1333) or 3.16.7.1 (LB, 231).

LINES 1–8. Bolzoni believes (231) that all of these proverbial expressions come from the mouths of imagined interlocutors (see the self-commentary, “the masses think that . . .”).

LINES 5–6. The little pan is the person who, through ignorance or cowardice, merely feigns living, acquiescing to evil rulers, for instance. The pot is the person, like Campanella, who is called “black” or bad and put in prison, although he should not be considered bad, because he is standing up for what is right, like the saints and Christ.

64. A consimili

Sonnet with Italian rhyme scheme ABBA ABBA CDD CCD.

This sonnet was written at the same time as 62 and 63, according to Firpo (1333).

LINE 1. Campanella believed that approximately six thousand years had passed since the beginning of the world (LB, 232).

LINE 5. *visto ch'io mi eclissi*: seeing that I live in the shadows consequent to the failure of my initiatives (GE, 267).

LINE 8. Campanella observes that anyone who considers his misfortunes his fault, from the moment that he understands the profound reasons of divine fate, should fault the sun the same way, since it also suffers darkening and eclipses (GE, 267).

LINE 9. *a' lupi*: tyrants are identified with wolves (LB, 232).

LINE 10. *e'*: the world (LB, 232).

LINE 12. *quaglio*: rennin, an enzyme or acidic substance used to make milk coagulate.

LINE 14. *di stelle s'infiora*: echoes Dante's *Paradise* 10.91.

65. Orazione a Dio

Sonnet with Italian rhyme scheme ABBA ABBA CDC DCD.

According to Firpo, this sonnet was probably composed during the second half of 1603 (LF, 1333): “Note the absence of any humility from this sonnet, and the absence of any religiosity at that; the hope of liberation is still based on human artifice and diabolic aid, while prayer, prompted by the fear of a fate that is obstinately contrary, has more theological subtlety than true abandon” (LF, 1333).

LINES 5–6. The sense is, if it is true that You correct the petition of some unforeseen thing in Your eternal decrees (LB, 233). Ernst adds that God cannot satisfy the prayers aimed at obtaining something not foreseen *ab aeterno* by His will, but He can accelerate the times of requests that are compatible with His decisions (268).

LINE 11. He alludes perhaps to the severe solitary confinement that he endured in August 1603 in the tower of Castel Nuovo, following the discovery of his plan to escape (LF, 1333).

NOTE 1. See *Metaphysics* 6.15.2 (LF, 1333) or 2.6.10 (LB, 233).

66. A Dio

Sonnet with Italian rhyme scheme ABBA ABBA CDC DCD.

This sonnet was probably written during the same period as 65 (LF, 1333).

LINE 7. “Virtues” refers back to the faithfulness and wisdom in line 5.

LINE 11. Through the influence of Felice Gagliardo, who dabbled in magic, it seems that Campanella performed some diabolic invocations in 1603. Campanella stated that he saw a demon resembling an angel, from whom he received extraordinary revelations and false promises of his freedom (LF, 1333).

NOTE 3. See Dante’s *Paradise* 9.73, 9.81, and 22.127 (LF, 1333).

68. Al Telesio Cosentino

Sonnet with Italian rhyme scheme ABBA ABBA CDC DCD.

This sonnet does not contain explicit chronological references, but the lively memory of Campanella’s Accademia Cosentina friends suggests to Firpo that it is of very early composition, perhaps during the period of the first trip to Naples (1589–92), and re-written from memory at a later date (1333). In his self-commentary, Campanella makes reference to Gaeta’s lost dialogue, which he praised in his *Metaphysics* (6.16.1, according to Firpo, 1333; or 2.4.16.1, according to Bolzoni, 236) and mentioned also in his *Latin Poetics* and his *Latin City of the Sun* (LF, 1334).

LINE 1. *il telo*: the arrow (GE, 271). Campanella plays on Telesio’s name in referring to *telo*.

LINES 2–3. *de’ sofisti . . . il tiranno*: Aristotle is the tyrant of sophists.

LINES 5–9. Campanella recalls and praises here other Accademia Cosentina friends in addition to Telesio—Bernardino Bombini (1532–88), jurist, historian, and poet; the “Montano,” the academic name for Sertorio Quattromani (1541–1611), literary scholar and writer of the elegant commentary on Telesio’s philosophy; Giulio Cavalcanti, poet and author of *La vita e i miracoli di S. Francesco de Paola*; and Giacomo di Gaeta, author of the lost treatise on aesthetics, *De pulchro* (LF, 1333; LB, 236).

LINE 6. *brettio campo*: Brettia is the ancient name for Calabria (LF, 1333).

LINE 8. *spetra*: destroys (GE, 271).

LINE 9. *la gran donna*: Nature, who, thanks to Telesio and his followers, appears again in her genuine beauty (LB, 236).

LINE 13. *nel tempio universal*: of metaphysics (LB, 236).

71. Sonetto nel Caucaso

Sonnet with Italian rhyme scheme ABBA ABBA CDC DCD.

Firpo is certain that this sonnet was composed in July 1604 (1334). Campanella draws a parallel between himself and the mythic figure of Prometheus in this poem, as he does in poem 1. His “Caucasus” is the horrid subterranean cell in Castel Sant’Elmo in which he was imprisoned between July 1604 and April 1608 (LF, 1334). Campanella’s reference in his self-commentary to Seneca is to the *Consolatio ad Polybium* (9.7) (LF, 1334).

LINES 3–4. The nest of humanity is so full of miseries that, even if beings undergo transmutations of many years, they will not go outside of the realm of misery. In other words, no matter how they are transformed or how many times, beings will still experience suffering due to the miseries of human existence.

LINE 7. *per tutto è senso*: Sense, the capacity to feel (and thus to suffer) never diminishes (LB, 239).

LINE 12. *Filippo*: Phillip III (1578–1621) had been King of Spain since 1598 (LF, 1334).

72. Lamentevole orazione profetale

Canzone consisting of eight madrigals, composed of hendecasyllables and septenaries in the Italian rhyme scheme abacdBdcceE, and so on, for the first seven madrigals. The final madrigal has the rhyme scheme abbAccAa. Line 4 of the second madrigal does not rhyme; line 9 of the third madrigal and line 7 of the seventh madrigal are missing.

This canzone was written between July 1604 and March 1605, from the *fossa*, the humid, dark, underground cell of Sant’Elmo where Campanella was imprisoned (LF, 1334). As Campanella himself notes in his self-commentary, this canzone recalls a Davidic psalm, in particular Psalm 87 (LF, 1334).

MADRIGAL 2

LINES 6–7. Free from death, but not from suffering (GE, 275).

LINE 8. *il mio composto*: my body (LB, 240). This particular term differs from the more typical Italian term for body, *corpo*; it suggests the composite nature of one’s physical matter. See also 73.2.7 for another example of its use.

MADRIGAL 3

LINES 8–11. Campanella is referring again to demonic apparitions that he invoked the preceding year (LF, 1334), including the image of monsters and dragons, which Bolzoni (241) hypothesizes were part of his occult visions.

MADRIGAL 4

LINE 8. *lor fai apparir sole*: Bolzoni interprets this difficult line to mean, “you make them appear beautiful, luminous.”

MADRIGAL 5

LINE 2. Prayers are considered the daughters of Jove in Homer’s *Illiad* 9.502–3.

LINE 6. *il fisico*: the doctor (LB, 242).

LINE 8. *ciechi chiostri*: the blind cloisters of the dead (LB, 242).

MADRIGAL 6

LINES 8–9. After you had raised me up among wise men and the foolish, you turn me over, cause me to fall (LB, 242).

MADRIGAL 7

LINE 10. Transferred from Castel Sant’Elmo, Campanella was separated from his own father and brother (“people of my own seed”), who were also imprisoned in

Castel Nuovo for actions related to the Calabrian uprising; Campanella's "friends," the complicit friars, also remained there until they were freed in March 1605 (LF, 1334).

MADRIGAL 8

LINES 3–4. that David had written for others as a prophecy, but to me it is history all too true (LB, 243).

LINES 5–6. The Holy Spirit inspired the psalm in David (LF, 1334).

73. Orazioni tre in salmodia metafisicale

Canzone consisting of ten madrigals, composed of hendecasyllables and septenaries in the Italian rhyme scheme ABCBACCDEEDFeF, and so on, for the first nine madrigals. The final madrigal has the rhyme scheme ABbCBAaC.

According to Firpo, Campanella composed this canzone during the summer of 1604, that is, during his initial period of solitary confinement in Sant'Elmo, since here Campanella expresses all the disappointment of his last hopes for liberation, the horrors of this prison, and a religiosity that is still resisted and discontinuous, "almost as if his misfortunes have not yet entirely snuffed out his accustomed arrogance" (LF, 1334–1335). This is the beginning of the spiritual crisis that will come to an end in two years with Campanella's humble abandon, marked by the "Canzone a Berillo" (poem 80) (LF, 1335).

MADRIGAL 1

LINE 10. *scempio*: torment. *Scempio-empio* is rhyme borrowed from Dante (see *Inferno* 10. 83 and 85, and *Purgatory* 12.55 and 57) (LB, 244).

LINE 12. *del Senno il tempio*: Campanella, true temple of Intellect (LB, 244).

LINE 14. *meschita*: a mosque (see *Inferno* 8.70) (LB, 244).

MADRIGAL 2

On Campanella's reference in his self-commentary to St. Augustine, see *De Trinitate* 2.9.15 (LF, 1335); on the *Metaphysics*, see 2.9.13.4; on the *Theology*, see 1.17, "De providentia" (LB, 245).

LINE 4. since your decisions are not subject to a change of mind (LB, 245).

MADRIGAL 3

Campanella's use of the term "worthy and capable" in his self-commentary is, according to Amerio, a theological expression indicating two degrees of merit (LB, 245). His allusion to the "Canzone a Berillo" is to poem 80.

LINES 5–6. nor is the cause of my difficulties any insufficiency of the three theological virtues (LB, 245).

LINES 7–9. and if some atrocious punishment is ever found in this world (necessary, according to some, in order to be heard in the presence of God) that purifies the soul and renders it worthy of grace (LB, 245).

LINE 14. "This reference to 12 years of 'trials,' which in the sixth madrigal of the third song will be called 'continuous,' has made other scholars believe erroneously that this poem was composed in 1611. Instead the calculation begins not with the trial for the uprising (1599), but rather from the first Neapolitan trial (1591–92), which would date this canzone, as already indicated, in 1604. Now that the youthful tribulations of

Campanella are better known, his expression does not seem so hyperbolic here, seeing that in these 12 years he enjoyed fewer than a few months of freedom. The ‘seven torments’ are identifiable as follows: three times Campanella suffered the torture referred to as the ‘cord’ in the trials of the Sant’Uffizio (1594–97), twice ‘the polledro’ (7–8 February 1600), then the ‘cord’ again (18 May 1600), and finally two days of the dreadful wake (4–5 June 1601)” (LF, 1335).

MADRIGAL 4

Campanella in his self-commentary to this madrigal makes a vague reference without any clear parallel in Demosthenes; but in the first oration *Contro Aristogitone* 40 (attributed to Demosthenes), the orator exclaims: “Who is he? The dog of the people, then God, some say. Of what race? Of that which does not bite the wolves at which it barks, but devours the sheep from among those it guards” (LF, 1335).

LINE 6. *grame*: unhappy, unfortunate (LB, 246).

LINE 7. *esciame*: from the Latin *examen* (swarm) (LB, 246).

LINE 12. *le pecore co’ lupi*: sheep with wolves, those who have been used along with those who take advantage of them, the oppressed with the tyrants (LB, 247).

MADRIGAL 5

LINE 1. In 1628 Campanella signed a letter to the pope as “Most faithful dog of Your Beatitude against evil beasts” and dedicates to him the *Atheismus triumphatus* of 1631 with the Latin motto “Campanella tibi sonans, Dominicanus tibi latrans”: a play on the name of the Dominican Order, “Dominican” meaning “the hound of the Lord” (LF, 1335).

LINE 5. *peccato in stampa*: a sin that is clear and noted to all (LB, 247).

LINE 6. *più dannato fia il sole*: the light will be confused with shadows (LB, 247).

LINES 12–13. “Bocca” is a nickname of obscure origin, according to Firpo, probably referring to one of the principle conspirators in the Calabrian uprising, Fra Dionisio Ponzio (1335). It is a name given to the famous political traitor of Dante’s ninth circle of hell, as well. “Gilardo,” who is also called “the wretched,” is Felice Gagliardo (LF, 1335).

MADRIGAL 6

LINE 10. *ch’è*: refers to *mutanza*, “change” (LB, 248).

LINE 14. *di parti*: refers back to *morti e vite*, “deaths and lives” (of line 12) (LB, 248).

MADRIGAL 7

LINE 6. *comparti*: you distribute (LB, 249).

LINE 14. or take from me the love of life, which is sweet but cruel, because it makes us suffer changes and the fear of death (LB, 249).

MADRIGAL 8

Campanella’s reference in the self-commentary of this madrigal is to the Epistle to the Romans 8:22 (LF, 1335).

LINE 7. *per cui ti pieghi*: to whom you listen (LB, 250).

LINE 8. if I was not present in the moment in which You made Your immutable decisions (LB, 250).

MADRIGAL 9

Campanella alludes again in his self-commentary on this madrigal to the demonic invocations already mentioned in 66, 71, and 72 (LF, 1335).

LINE 1. *contrito*: also in the agricultural sense of land well broken up and prepared for planting (LB, 250).

LINE 7. *a cui*: in order to reach One who (LB, 251).

LINE 10. In the garden of Gethsemany; see Mathew 26:39–46, Mark 14:35–42, and Luke 22:41–46 (LF, 1335).

LINE 12. *io senza prego*: I pray without conditions (LB, 251).

LINE 14. *dal mio*: from mine, that is, from my “angel,” which turns out to be a demon.

MADRIGAL 10

LINE 4. *volar senza ale*: the wings of grace, according to the self-commentary (see also Madrigal 5, verse 7 of this song); probably also referring to flying away to freedom from his cell without aid (LB, 251).

LINE 5. in what way can one believe that Fate’s wheel moves according to reason (LB, 252).

74. Canzone seconda

Canzone consisting of ten madrigals, composed of hendecasyllables and septenaries in the Italian rhyme scheme ABCBACCDEEDFeF, and so on, for the first nine madrigals. The final madrigal has the rhyme scheme AbCcBbDEdE.

Firpo asserts that this canzone was written at the same time as 73 (1336).

MADRIGAL 1

Campanella’s reference in the self-commentary to Jeremiah is to 12:1 (LF, 1336). He also cites the *Antimacchiavellismo*, that is, the *Atheismus triumphatus* (6.6–7 and the appendix of 11) (LF, 1336).

LINES 4–5. Campanella expresses his disillusionment at the unfulfilled prophecy and stellar presages that had moved him to action in Calabria (LF, 1336). The meaning of these lines, according to Bolzoni (253), is, “Why do You render vain the astral conjunctions, many prophecies, Your gifts, and the sciences?”

LINE 8. *rivolve*: translated here as “come,” this term literally means “turns on” and suggests the turning of Fortune’s wheel.

LINE 9. *tra ‘l Fato un’animata terra*: within the fated order of humanity (for “animated earth,” see Genesis 2:7) (LB, 253); or for Ernst, *un’animata terra* is one man (286).

MADRIGAL 2

In his self-commentary, Campanella refers to Ecclesiastes 9:3 and 8:14 (LF, 1336).

LINE 3. On the figure of Bocca, see note 5 to poem 73. After his escape, Dionisio Ponzio became a Muslim (LB, 254).

LINE 6. In a demonic vision Campanella had been promised a similar supernatural means of liberation (LF, 1336).

MADRIGAL 3

LINES 4–5. Since disdain, ignorance, and secret suspicion always afflict proud spirits.

LINE 7. *traboccan*: fall to the ground.

LINE 8. If we are all unhappy, they in their way and we quite visibly (LB, 255).

LINE 10. So Your will is good even when it bodes evil for us (LB, 255).

LINE 13. from one form to another (LB, 255).

MADRIGAL 4

LINES 9–10. Make it in such a way that the thing that causes mutation also be mutated in its turn, according to the measure that Fate deems (LB, 256).

LINE 11. *scaltra*: *aguzza* (sharpen), *affina* (hone) (LB, 256).

MADRIGAL 5

LINE 12. *divario dolce*: sweet change, sweet diversity (LB, 256).

LINE 13. *men soda*: less solid, less valid (LB, 257).

LINE 14. *Vertunno*: Roman god of Etruscan origin whose name is derived from *vertere* (change), since it was believed that this god could change appearance, as well as change the seasons of the year and the course of the Tiber River. *che 'l nostro soffre*: that sustains, that is the basis of our mutations (LB, 257).

MADRIGAL 6

LINE 1. *fermezza intègra*: absolutely immobile (LB, 257).

LINES 3–4. and there is no detail new to You that can change Your will (LB, 257). Your will cannot become something new or different from what You foresaw it to be from the beginning.

LINE 5. *s'intègra*: the subject is *creatura* (creature, line 9) (LB, 257).

LINE 6. Through being it is stable, but through nonbeing it changes (LB, 257).

LINE 7. I find that from You being is derived, but from itself, nonbeing (LB, 257).

LINE 14. Campanella uses the word *male* here, which typically signifies “evil” but here seems to mean “lack” or “deficiency” with respect to God’s infinite goodness.

MADRIGAL 7

In the self-commentary the reference to the *Metaphysics* is to 2.9.6.1 (LB, 258). *In tanti successi*: in so many successions (LB, 259).

LINE 2. from which derive the moral faults (LB, 258).

LINES 3–5. they do not derive from God, but from nothingness, that is from the continual war that is born of the fact that a thing is not any other (LB, 258).

MADRIGAL 8

LINE 2. *s'arruggia*: becomes rusty (LF, 1336).

LINE 7. *fregia*: rub against, strike (LB, 259), but Ernst argues that the term has a positive connotation, more like “adorns, confers merit,” so the sense would be closer to the following: instead of complaining, we should be grateful to God Who transforms into good even evils and sins (“Note campanelliane,” 484). On Giancotti’s suggestion that irony is present in the term, see his article in *Bruniana & Campanelliana* 7, no. 1, 221–24.

LINE 11. *de' pannilini*: of rags (LB, 259).

LINES 12–13. as we do for paper that, once we have written on it, we save it from death and consign it to the arms of eternity (LB, 259).

LINE 14. Who knows what great destiny is saved for me by God, wiser than I am (LB, 259).

MADRIGAL 9

LINE 3. *in questa o in altra*: in this or in another life (LB, 260).

LINE 5. Why did I not obtain both? (GE, 291).

MADRIGAL 10

LINES 2–3. that every thing could be better in itself or for itself, but not with respect to the universe (that is, with respect to the universe it is already the very best state possible) (LB, 260).

75. Canzone terza

Canzone consisting of nine madrigals, composed of hendecasyllables and septenaries in the Italian rhyme scheme AbCABcCdEeDdfGfG, and so on, for the first eight madrigals. The final madrigal has the rhyme scheme aBCcBdBEdEDE.

This canzone was also written at the same time as 73 and 74 (LF, 1336).

MADRIGAL 1

Reference in the self-commentary to one sheepfold, one pastor, and one faith is to John 10:16 (LF, 1336).

LINE 4. *antico errore*: ancient error, an echo of Dante, *Paradise* 8.6 (LF, 1336). See also Petrarch's *Canzoniere* 62.12 (LB, 262).

MADRIGAL 2

Reference in the self-commentary to the sonnet "The Astrologers" is to poem 13 (LF, 1336).

LINES 2–3. thanks to which I believe that discord, death, and deception can decrease (LB, 263).

LINE 15. and from this (that is, the defeat to which are destined the "unarmed prophets") You have made a clear example in me (LB, 263).

MADRIGAL 3

LINE 1. *le medesime eminenze*: that is, Intellect, Power, and Love (LB, 264).

LINE 4. *di maschere*: of the masks of false intellect, false power, and so on. (LB, 264).

LINES 5–6. that the false gods boast to be able to take from humanity (LB, 264).

LINE 16. the very different outcome of six thousand years of history proves otherwise (LB, 264).

MADRIGAL 4

LINE 6. *per lo spazio*: which provides the base for the realization of divine design in the world (LB, 265).

LINE 7. through material, which provides the basis for the mechanism (*ingegno*)

of the world (LB, 265). *Ingegno* is also the word for “genius,” the intellect capable of producing a design requiring craft or engineering. See also 23.4.14.

MADRIGAL 5

Reference in the self-commentary to *in spiritu et veritate* is to John 4:23, to Isaiah is to 46:1, to St. Stephen is to Acts 7:48–50, to St. Bernard is to *De diligendo Deo* 10.27 (LF, 1336; and LB, 266).

LINES 13–14. nor sing new hymns under roofs that beasts and lightning can damage or debase (LB, 266).

LINE 16. Even in *The City of the Sun*, Campanella insisted that one pray under the unencumbered face of heaven (outdoors), and he taught Gagliardo that one should adore God by standing on one’s feet “and turning one’s face up to heaven” (LF, 1336).

MADRIGAL 6

On the seven torments that Campanella suffered in these twelve years of prison, see his self-commentary on the third madrigal of poem 73.

LINE 5. *senza il mio cenno*: without my needing to mention it (GE, 296).

LINE 6. *dispenso*: consume (LB, 267) or overlook (GE, 296).

LINE 16. But maintaining a hope worthy of your aid (LB, 267).

MADRIGAL 7

LINES 1–11. all depend on “From Your high court You will see / all this and more from these harpies.”

LINE 1. *scanni*: seats (LB, 267); *giganti*: tyrants (GE, 297).

LINE 6. *maniche*: burners used to melt metals. The expression puts into relief the atrocity of the tortures by representing the bones of the tortured as *burners* employed to forge the instruments of torture inflicted on them (FG, 333).

LINE 11. *fregi*: adornments (LB, 267).

MADRIGAL 8

The authors of the prophetic texts most familiar to Campanella are St. Bridget, St. Vincent Ferrer, and St. Catherine of Siena. On the “idol,” see St. Bridget’s *Revelationes* 1.48.4–5 and 4.133.3 (LF, 1336).

LINE 3. *sette monti*: These are the seven protuberances on Campanella’s cranium that Campanella himself interpreted as the seal of his predestination; *gran semblea* is the great reunification of humanity hoped for in *The City of the Sun*; the *albo cavallo* is the white horse of the Apocalypse (see also the note to poem 55); the *gente* that he knew how to conquer is the fascinated throng of his followers in Calabria (LF, 1336).

LINE 4. *la gran semblea*: the reunification of humanity (GE, 297).

LINE 11. *falsa sarà*: it will be disproved (LB, 268).

LINE 14. *che quei*: than those of the Old Testament (LB, 268).

MADRIGAL 9

Reference in the self-commentary to the *Atheismus triumphatus* is to 11.23, where Campanella describes the diabolic evocation (LF, 1336).

LINES 1–4. Campanella emphasizes here the single birth of triplet girls, his songs

73–75. They are born from his “head of seven bumps” to the sound of his thoughtful “bell,” both allusions to his pseudonym, Settimontano Squilla. The sound of the bell may act as midwife to aid in their birth.

LINE 7. *ange*: anguish, torment (LB, 269).

LINE 11. According to Firpo (1336), the “messenger” is a demon (see also the note to poem 66, LF, 1336) or, according to Bolzoni (269), “the spirit evoked by Fra Felice Gagliardo.”

80. Canzone a Berillo

Canzone consisting of thirteen madrigals, composed of hendecasyllables and septenaries in the Italian rhyme scheme AbBCAaCDEdE, and so on, for the first twelve madrigals.

The final madrigal has the rhyme scheme abCBacA. Giancotti notes that the first madrigal of this canzone was cut by Campanella to a septenary; see Giancotti's “Tavola delle correzioni autografe” in Tommaso Campanella: Le poesie (cxxii).

This canzone, composed in the prison of Sant’Elmo, was written in the first months of 1606, according to Firpo (1338), who identifies this poem as the greatest example of Campanella’s lyric production for its poetic, psychological, and authentic spiritual expressivity. “Berillo” is an affectionate nickname that Campanella gives to his confessor during his most difficult years, Don Basilio Berillari (LF, 1338).

MADRIGAL 1

LINE 5. *losco*: shortsighted (LB, 292).

LINE 9. Campanella recalls his many difficulties, including his five trials and the seven tortures that he had to undergo (LF, 1338).

MADRIGAL 2

LINE 1. *quattordici anni*: since 1592 (LB, 292).

LINE 6. *eletto sasso*: see Ephesians 2:20 (LB, 292).

MADRIGAL 3

LINE 10. *quella festa*: the triumph that he expected at first (LB, 293).

LINE 11. See Luke 15:11–32 (LB, 293).

MADRIGAL 4

LINE 6. *cieco e profano*: The two terms correspond by contrast to *sagace e pio* (wise and pious, line 5) (LB, 293).

MADRIGAL 5

LINE 5. So he who has greater understanding than most men (LB, 294).

LINE 8. that the prophets sent from God are instead moved by the demon or by one’s own intelligence (LB, 294).

MADRIGAL 6

LINE 6. if God, from Whom power derives (see Proverbs 8:15 and Romans 13:1) (LB, 294).

LINE 8. *così que’ ministri d’ira*: Various interpretations have been made. According to Amerio, the meaning is as follows: and the powerful of the earth, who are the ministers

of divine wrath, also use those scourges (see Romans 13:3–6); but Bolzoni believes that *que' ministri d'ira* can be interpreted as another object of “use,” citing Campanella’s self-commentary (LB, 295).

LINE 10. *al porto*: at the port of death (LB, 295).

LINE 11. *non offendendo*: in the Latin sense of “not hitting, rubbing against” (LB, 295).

MADRIGAL 7

LINE 1. *ovvero ammenda*: or tries to correct them (LB, 295); criticizes them while pretending to correct them (GE, 318).

LINE 2. “plays with sin” is used in the same way as “plays with fire.”

LINE 3. *per la prima sferza*: after the first blows received (LB, 295).

LINE 4. *colubro*: snake (GE, 318).

LINE 5. *non gli è orrenda*: does not scare him (LB, 295).

LINE 8. Campanella refers to the Egyptians who, according to Exodus 14:26–68, drowned in the waves of the Red Sea (LF, 1338).

LINE 11. On the terrible end of Antiochus, see 2 Maccabees 9:5–10 (LF, 1338).

MADRIGAL 8

LINE 3. *le segrete tempre*: the secret conditions (LB, 296); the state of the interior of the soul (GE, 319).

MADRIGAL 9

LINE 3. *non dà loco*: it does not call a truce (LB, 296).

LINE 6. *da lago inferior*: biblical expression for hell (see Psalms 88:7) (LB, 296).

MADRIGAL 10

LINE 4. *avvaccio*: right away, immediately (LB, 297).

LINE 10. *Radamante e Minosso*: mythic guardians of hell (LB, 297).

MADRIGAL 13

LINE 3. Campanella plays on the name of Berillario. *Berillo vivo* refers to a shining precious stone. Firpo also notes (1338) with some hesitation that Gentile argues that the nickname might also signify “eyeglasses” (mentioning the *De beryllo* by Cusano, which Campanella surely knew well), with both literal and allegorical significances for Campanella’s confessor.

89. Al sole

The Latin elegiac couplet is the model for Campanella’s fifty-six verses. According to Giancotti (cxxxix–cxl), both the hexameter and the pentameter of the Latin couplet Campanella renders with a double verse that consists of the sum of verses like the septenary and octanary in line 1, but in subsequent couplets, Campanella frequently replaces septenaries with senaries and optanaries with novenaries, though other combinations are also present.

This elegy was composed in Sant’Elmo on Easter (see line 25), so Firpo proposes April 10, 1605; March 26, 1606; or April 15, 1607 (1341).

LINE 1. *Giano*: Janus, the god of gates or doors, who did not aid Campanella in his escape, which he hoped would occur in 1603 (LB, 331; and LF, 1341).

LINE 2. *scola*: the First School of the Prime Intellect of which Campanella proclaimed himself supporter. The sun (center of heat and principle agent of Telesian physiology) was the symbol of Campanella's *City of the Sun*, "City of the Sun" being the name of the model of the perfect state (LF, 1341).

NOTE 1. *semblea*: the ecumenical collocation of people inspired by the principles of *The City of the Sun* and the *Monarchy of Christians* (LF, 1341).

LINE 3. The sun enters Aries on March 21 (LF, 1341).

LINE 33. See *On the Sense of Things* 1.3 (LF, 1341).

LINE 34. *vindice fatto tuo*: because I had vindicated your greatness (LB, 332).

LINE 40. Felice Gagliardo testified in 1606 that Campanella had exhorted him in prison to adore the sun at sunrise and sunset by standing upright and staring at the sun as long as possible and speaking these words: "Oh sacrosanct sun, lamp of the heavens, father of nature, bearer of things to us mortals, and conductor of our assembly" (LF, 1341).

LINE 48. that was never denied to any being, no matter how monstrous (LB, 332).

LINE 52. The image is St. Paul's in Romans 4:13 and Hebrews 1:2 (LF, 1341).

Bibliography

The bibliography is divided into three parts: (1) works written by Campanella published in English translation, (2) selected works by Campanella in languages other than English, and (3) secondary sources of works cited and those most pertinent to further study of Campanella's philosophical poems.

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